> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . . 171 175 [888]
>
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of Tibo Moomôoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite. [592] [595] [622] [684] [847] [855] [888]

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more generally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava." [241] [276] [562]

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo (western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's. 592 622 602 591

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it follows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers. 561 562 593 565

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matrimonial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to 604 [784] [582] [607] 602 604 264

the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner 604
of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafoou: the 602
chiefly house of Niuafoou once supplied a wife for the chief of Niuato- 264
putapu.

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is 593
eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and 784
to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps [826]
early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking [755]
the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was
believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. [178]
An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he
never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his
own son touch his.

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all 603
sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's
father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the
same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the
fono (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15,
p. 30).

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from 593
restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic
basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake
of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the 604
same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found [603]
in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father.
The child is *fahu* (above the law) to his mother's brother.

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the 593
father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect 604
to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative 565
to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These
same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are
perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings.
Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *fahu*, even
though their father is of inferior rank.

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, 593
no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation [171]
is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn
(29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather,
was subject to somebody else."

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is 593
well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are 605
561
562

DAUGHTERS AND SONS

Daughters are given much attention, especially by the mother's relatives. 593
The choicest horses, pigs, and other valuables are reserved for them, particularly
for an older daughter.

Because a double standard of morality prevails, girls are strictly guarded, 562
boys are given great freedom. The term *manaia* (one who is unusually successful [622]
in love affairs) is often applied to the chief's son. (See also 41, [833]
vol. 2, pp. 157.)

As heir apparent to his father's position as male head of the family, 593
the first-born son enjoys a certain prestige. On Vavau Island, two places, 428
Makave and Feletoa, are traditionally associated with first-born sons. Near 349
the village of Makave is a coral wall called Kilikilitefua, some pieces not exceeding a man's foot in size, others too heavy for two men to carry. It is now dilapidated, but originally it was 250 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 5 or 6 feet high. Its origin is generally ascribed to a custom of the parents of every first-born son in Makave to carry a stone to the pile. No clear reason for doing this could be learned, except that of emulating a parallel custom said to have been practiced at the village of Feletoa, also in Vavau
Island. At Feletoa the fathers of first-born sons struck the ground at a certain 593
spot with the butt of a large stick (*tukitou*) of *tou* wood. The large [103]
depression traditionally alleged to have been caused by the poundings is called Tukitou.

BROTHER-SISTER TAPU

An outstanding feature of Tongan family life which seems to have 593
permeated society from the lowest stratum to the highest is the brother-sister 784
tapu, called by one informant *fakaapaapa*, a word with a wide application, 605
which means among other things "to reverence, to respect, to honor." The workings of this tapu are as follows.

Individuals who are brother (*tuongaane*) and sister (*tuofefine*), whether lineal or collateral, that is, whether true brother and sister or only cousins, may not be near each other in a house. If a man is talking to other women, his sister must not approach him, and if he is talking to them in a room she may not enter it. If a man were sitting in a house, his sister might enter, but might not sit near him. In the same way a man must not take a seat near his sister nor even enter the house where she is. It is improper even to mention a man to his sister. Usually brothers and sisters do not live in the same house after ten years of age; nor do they play together. If a boy approaches a house where children are playing and finds his sister there, he does not enter. Nowadays brother and sister may eat together

and may talk, but not familiarly. With aged siblings the tapu is somewhat 593
relaxed. One informant said that a brother may cook food for a 605
sister, but not the sister for the brother because that would look as though 784
they were married. If a man came in from the bush very tired his sister
might procure some food for him, but she might not nurse him when he
was ill. A brother would not avenge the rape of a sister; the father or [684]
mother's brother would do that. [604]

Some curious abrogations of the brother-sister tapu came to light. In 593
one family a girl named Ika was so named by her paternal grandmother 784
after her maternal grandmother and she thereby assumed the status of the [553]
grandmother, or perhaps of a mother, to her own brother. She can approach [605]
him freely, can tend him in sickness, and generally be with him without
restriction by the usual tapu. In another family Tangakinakovi, daughter [597]
of the chief Veehala and wife of Luani, being childless, was allowed to
adopt Taliauli, her full brother, all brother-sister tapu being disregarded.

Cross-cousin marriage, which seems to have been common, is a violation 605
of the brother-sister tapu. Yet a decision reached in the family councils 784
will do away with this tapu and a man and woman who could not come into 582
close proximity to each other by their own initiative may be married by the
will of those who have the ordering of them.

There are at times evasions of the tapu. Brother and sister sometimes 593
do covertly converse. It is considered very bad form for anyone to notice 605
this. During my sojourn in Tonga a man came to his *tuofefine* and asked 784
for his shirt, which in all probability she had washed for him. A European 521
standing near overheard the man ask and jocularly remarked that the [576]
girl did not have his shirt, but had given it away. The pair fled in dismay,
for being *tuongaane* and *tuofefine* to each other, they had no right to converse.
The European committed a serious breach of etiquette in noting
that they were conversing.

Although the observances described are those of today, they undoubtedly 593
give a picture of the past as well. Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 147) has the 605
following to say: 784

> Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz., by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

THE FAHU

As the sister is superior in rank to the brother, so also are her children, 604
both male and female. Moreover, the sister's children are superior to the 605
brother's children. The sister's children are *fahu* (Fijian *vasu*) to their
mother's brother. They have the privilege of taking their uncle's goods, [425]

also the goods of his children, either during his life or after his death. 425 601
Even one of the uncle's wives might be appropriated. At the wedding of a 605
man's child, his sister's children may help themselves to the presents. The [837]
brother's children must show respect (*fakaapaapa*) to the sister's children. [585]
The institution of *fahu* is a one-sided, non-reciprocal affair. The victims [431]
never have a chance to retaliate, but they exercise similar privilege towards
their own mother's brother and his offspring. Towards one's *fahu* only
respect and acquiescence must be shown. To appropriate the property of
the *fahu* would be a serious breach of custom.

One chiefly informant remarked to me that he was lucky in having no 604
closely related *fahu*, as he had no sister. He had, however, female cousins, 605 [593]
whose children were *fahu* to him to a certain extent, but not like a real
or great *fahu*. One such remote *fahu* visited this chief while I was with
him, his father's brother's daughter's daughter. She did not have the
privilege of a near *fahu* but must ask his permission before taking his
property.

Radcliffe-Brown (48, pp. 543, 553, 550) records for Tonga that 604

> . . . the sister's son is permitted to take many liberties with his mother's brother,
> and to take any of his uncle's possessions that he may desire. And there also we find [425]
> the custom that, when the uncle makes a sacrifice, the sister's son takes away the sacred
> portion offered to the gods, and may eat it.
>
> . . . The daughter's son must be honoured by his grandfather. He is "a chief" to 603
> him. He may take his grandfather's property, and he may take away the offering that
> his grandfather makes to the gods at a kava ceremony. The mother's father and the 604
> mother's brother are the objects of very similar behaviour patterns, of which the out- [425]
> standing feature is the indulgence on the one side and the liberty permitted on the other.

The daughter's son may intervene in the sacrificial ritual in the same way as the sister's son, the behavior between the mother's father and the daughter's son being much the same as between the mother's brother and the sister's son.

Liberties and jocular remarks may be indulged in with relatives through 604
one's mother's brother, except where the brother-sister tapu interferes. [784]
Such liberties and remarks cannot be reciprocated, for the very reason that
respect towards the father and his relatives is definitely enjoined, and especially towards the father's sister (*mehekitanga*) and her offspring.

Modern Tongan dictionaries describe the *fahu* as "one that is above the
law," and the verb *fakafahufahu* as "to act as an outlaw." In actual practice
the *fahu* (or *ilamutu*, to use the term of relationship) often did appro- [421]
priate the property of his mother's brother (*tuasina*), who as a rule did [425]
not protest. At the kava ceremony the *fahu* ate the relish presented to his
mother's brother. The grandchildren, also referred to as *fahu*, had the [603]
same privilege (15, p. 30).

As the lineages (*haa*) are patrilineal, a *fahu* usually does not belong to 604
the lineage in which he exercises his right. In Cook's time (1777) the 613
Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, of the Haa Fale Fisi, was *fahu* to the Tui Tonga
Pau, as was also Latunipulu's sister the Tamaha Moungalakepa. Cook 175
(19, vol. 1, p. 414) says of Latunipulu: "Latooliboolo assumed the privilege 604
of taking anything from the people, even if it belonged to the king." 613
Speaking of Latunipulu's little son in Eua, he says: "The son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little Tammaha was."

Although the *fahu* owes his position primarily to his mother, nevertheless 604
the *fahu* whose father is a great chief wields greater influence than 593
the *fahu* whose father is a petty chief or commoner, even if the mother of 554
each *fahu* is of exalted rank.

It is quite possible that cross-cousin marriage in Tonga is genetically 604
connected with the *fahu* concept, for it is usually the mother's brother's 582
daughter whom a man marries. In other words, he may make demand in his capacity of *fahu*.

ADOPTION

Adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga. Many children 597
are adopted by near relatives who have no companion or heir, particularly 604
children are adopted by aunts. Tongan genealogies give examples of children adopted by their paternal aunt (*mehekitanga*), such a child being called *"koe tama to he mehekitanga."* (For an example see 26, p. 146.) In general, a child adopted by a woman is known as her "child to her husband."

The status of an adopted child becomes completely altered. The child 597
is no longer his father's or mother's child; he is the child of the person who 593
adopts him. However, according to one informant, the child's father is 784
still tapu to him. If the paternal aunt adopts a child, he ceases to act towards 604
her as toward an aunt, but as toward a mother. Elsewhere is recorded the adoption of a baby brother by his grown sister and the consequent abrogating of the brother-sister tapu.

According to the high chief Ata of Tongatabu, an adopted son may supersede a real son as heir to the father's title. Ata (who was childless) stated that if he and his wife were to adopt the wife's brother's son, that
individual would become his heir even though he had an older son. It is 553
seldom that a child receives his father's name, but it is customary to give an adopted son the name of his adoptive father.

Adoption may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is 597
taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality. So well established 609
is the custom that even today Europeans are adopted in much the manner

of Tongatabu. On the other side were men from Vaini, Folaha, Pea, and 643
Nukualofa (all in the Loto [middle] District of Tongatabu), from Hihifo 796
District of Tongatabu, and from Fiji. These two lines of antagonists fought 526
a *falalafa* (a sham battle with coconut fronds). Apparently a blow any- 527
where was fair. The people of Eua were particularly expert at this game. Toamalanga controlled the combat. When he thought that it had progressed far enough he ordered the Hihifo party to desist: "Loloi matanga ki Hihifo." (Sit down all westerners.) When they had responded, he ordered the Hahake (Eastern) party down. Immediately they sat down. Then Toamalanga made a speech in which he admonished the people: "Behave well because his majesty the Tui Tonga (Afio ae Tui Tonga) is here. Do not fight and make trouble."

After Toamalanga's speech the people again stood up. The priests (*taula* 643
tevolo) of various places and (or) their representatives had brought yams 796
called *ufimahaki* (sick yam) the significance of which I could not learn. 527
The representative of the priest of Holonga brought the first yam. Two men carried a long coconut-leaf basket (*fakaloumasi*) on a pole. The basket contained only banana leaves, most of the real yams being piled up behind the assembled people. Then followed the representative of the priest of Vaini with a real yam (*kahokaho*, a kind particularly reserved for chiefs). Next followed the representatives of the priest of Houma, also with a *kahokaho* yam. Hamula was next in line[8]. In carrying the yams each of these places was represented by three men. Two men supported the ends of the pole on their shoulders, the third supported the yam with his hand. The pole was carried on the left shoulder. Each of the bearers carried a war spear of toa or *fehi* wood in his right hand, and brandished it. One man from Hamula lacked a spear but brandished his hand. In addition, the families, of the priests, both males and females, carried yams. All sang, "Nofo fei moeke nofo oua e ngaue." (We have come from work.)

As the yams were being carried past the Tui Tonga he arose to depart, the people doing the same immediately he had left. The yams were carried to the sanctuary of Fanakava and there cooked and eaten by the priests and
people present. None were taken to the Tui Tonga, for it was forbidden to (784)
take anything from the premises of a god.

To-day when food is presented to the king, no club fight or other activ- (178)
ities accompany the presentation as in the past.

TOMBS OF THE TUI TONGA

The tombs of the Tui Tonga were spoken of as langi (sky). (See 25, 643
p. 125, for list of langi.) The Tui Tonga himself was also called Langi 764
at times. The tombs are usually faced with dressed rectangular slabs of 349
stone and consist of one or more terraces, so that they are often truncated

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[8] The priest of Hamula was named Kavakimotu. A man of the same title is chief now.

The term *polopolo* was equated to the term *inasi* (literally, share or portion). 643
The *polopolo* ceremony was actually a sharing of the first fruits. 622

From the great chief Ata I obtained some information as to the presentation 651
of first fruits to the Tui Kanokupolu, and the supervision of horticulture [782]
and fishing by the chiefs of the lineage Haa Ngata Motua, practices which Ata told me would apply also to the other lineages of to-day as well.

All vegetable and animal products within the territory directly controlled 643
by the Tui Kanokupolu were tapu for that high chief. Two petty chiefs 622
were appointed to make continual rounds of the territory to see that the 651
common people were not utilizing those products without permission. These 262
inspectors called Tui Pangai and Tui Sinoieiki were petty chiefs (*eikisii*) rather than matapules. They were appointed by Ata, and operated in the territory of the Haa Ngata Motua only, one of them in Pangai, the western part of Hihifo, the other in Sinoieiki, the eastern part.

If, in making his round an inspector discovered a fine bunch of cooking [784)
bananas, or breadfruit, or yams, or sweet potatoes which were regarded as suitable for the Tui Kanokupolu, he put a tapu upon it by sticking a sharp stick into the banana tree trunk, hanging coconut leaves on the breadfruit tree branches, by putting a stick into the ground near the yam or sweet potato plants. Of coconuts, only a special small kind called *kafakala* was reserved for chiefs. Such inspectors also reported to Ata, and through him to the Tui Kanokupolu, the amount of crops planted by the farmers, and as to whether or not they were sufficient.

Pigs, like coconuts, needed no tapu mark put upon them. All pigs above [231]
a certain size were tapu to the commoners, even to their owners, and were [565]
reserved for their chiefs and for the Tui Kanokupolu. [789)

A commoner who broke the food tapus would be thrashed or possibly [687]
killed. The infraction was reported to Ata, who determined the punishment [565]
and ordered someone to administer it. There seems to have been no fear [784]
of supernatural punishment.

Similar customs controlled the utilization of fishes. Large fishes caught [226]
by any of the people under the rule of Ata, must be brought to him. Especially fine fishes were sent by Ata to the Tui Kanokupolu. A fisherman [687]
caught eating a large fish might have his tongue pulled out, or be thrashed, or even killed.

The person whose duty it is to bring fishes to the Tui Kanokupolu bears [463)
the title of Ngalu Haatafu. He is appointed by Ata, being selected, as a rule, from the same family as the preceding incumbent. Benjamin One, called Ngalu since his appointment about 1912, succeeded his cousin. In addition to Ngalu, who delivers the fishes to the Tui Kanokupolu, are two petty chiefs: Faoa, a chief of the lowest order, who supervises the bonito fishing, and Latukefu who supervises the fishing for *vete*.

The fishing place for bonito is the Hakau Tapu (Prohibited Reef), lying 643
off Hihifo, Tongatabu. As the name implies, commoners could fish there 651
only under instructions from Ata. The first Faoa for this district is said 622
to have been sent to live at Kanokupolu by a Tui Haa Takalaua, now, how- 226
ever, he is appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. At the coronation of the Tui Kanokupolu the Faoa makes a speech concerning the capture of fish. The Faoa settled the time of the bonito fishing following the observation of flocks of birds over the Hakau Tapu, but had no power to order the people to fish. When the time was ripe he notified Ata, who sent messages [466]
to all the men of the Hihifo district who were able to paddle, ordering them to participate in the fishing on a set day. Fish caught on such a communal expedition were brought to Ata, who forwarded the best of them to the Tui Kanokupolu, took what he wished himself, and then allowed the rest to be divided among the fishermen and paddlers. Faoa himself and some of Ata's inferior relatives, such as sons and brothers, carried the fine fish to the Tui Kanokupolu. The method of fishing is described by McKern (43).

Faoa and his relatives and the relatives of Ata cut the bonito in a special [687]
way, a person cutting it otherwise was punished with a thrashing. Ata [784]
said that no supernatural punishment, such as the premature departure of the bonito, would follow wrong cutting. It seems likely, however, that anciently there must have been some sort of supernatural sanction. The method as described to me follows:

> The fish is placed on its side with the tail towards the operator. The knife [412]
> (anciently, at least, of bamboo) is drawn from a point just posterior to the lateral fin nearly to the tail, then curvingly around to the belly. Without being lifted, the knife is then drawn back in the groove just cut to the starting point, then drawn tailwards again, then curvingly to the back, then to the starting point; then down from the starting point and up the belly. Again it is drawn back to the starting point, tailwards, curvingly to and up the back, then to the starting point. It is then drawn down again and up the back, then around on to the other side of the back to a position below the lateral fin on that side. At the same time this movement of the knife is executed the fish is turned and the operation repeated on the other side. At no time during the operation is the knife lifted. After the cutting the fish is lifted up by the tail and if the work has been properly done the flesh falls off and is easily disconnected from the backbone.

Fishing for the *vete* (about a foot long and with a longitudinal yellow stripe) and other fishes, in the charge of the petty chief called Latukefu, is done on the weather shore of Tongatabu near Kolovai. When the fishes come through the passage in the reef into the shallow water, Latukefu, who has had one of his people on watch, reports it to Ata. The *vete* is caught with a hand net (*kupenga sili*), which Latukefu's male relatives in particular are taught to use. The first catch, called *kato kia* (basket to) Ata, is sent at once to Ata, who sets aside the fish for the Tui Kanokupolu and instructs rewarded with a tract of land on an island in the Vavau group. The tract still belongs to a member of the family, but not to X. X's family belongs to the Haa Ngata Tupu in which are Ulukalala, Tapuelelu, and other great chiefs. X considers himself a matapule, because certain ancestors were *toutai* to the Tui Tonga. All people bearing X's name can trace relationship to the Tui Tonga's *toutai*, but all cannot trace relationship to the Haa Ngata Tupu chiefs, as X can. He counts himself a member of Haa Ngata Tupu by blood relationship. 565 829 [729] [613]

As do other informants X regards all three classes as Tongan. He has relatives in Niuatoputapu, Uvea, and Samoa, brought about by his forefathers marrying there. [582]

The Act of Obeisance

The following is a translation of a Tongan account supplied by Mrs. Rachel Tonga. Compare 41, vol. 1, p. 434; 19, vol. 1, p. 409. 622 643 576 613

This is the way that the act of *moemoei*, or touching of the soles of the chiefs' feet as a mark of reverence, was done. That was a great mark of respect in Tonga, and it was not done to anyone but the Tamaha, the Tui Tonga, and the chiefs of one's own lineage.

To the Tamaha the respect was paid by touching the soles of her feet. This was done by all persons from the Tui Tonga himself down to the lowest person. The Tamaha was the first, highest, and most sacred chief in the land. The Tui Tonga was the most sacred male chief in the land. This respect of touching the soles of his feet was paid him by the Kauhalalalo, that is the reigning king (Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu) and all the high chiefs down to the lowest person. [644]

The *moemoei* was done when first entering the house, so that one might be at liberty to sit down in the house, on the occasion of a kava party or other gathering. And when wishing to go outside of the house it was done again, after the completion of the kava ceremonies or entertainment, or other matter that might have taken one into her (or his) presence.

This is the way that the *moemoei* is done. One goes and stoops down and places the back of both hands on the soles of the chief's feet. And after that is finished then one stands up and goes. And should it be difficult to approach and *moemoei* because of her (or his) partaking of the kava being too ceremonious, one went to a small wooden bowl which was left at the threshold outside and which was called "the carrier of immunity" (*koe fafanonga*). One went and did the *moemoei* ceremony to the bowl, just as if it were the Tamaha or the Tui Tonga. Then one was at liberty to go home, free of tapu. [516]

If one was doing *moemoei* to one's own hereditary chief, it was done with the crown of the head. One went and knelt down and placed the crown of his head against the soles of the chief's feet, so that one might be at liberty to sit down or to go as the case might be. [516]

Thomson (54, p. 293, footnote 1) has an interesting note on performing *moemoei*, in which he points out that it was performed at times as a prophylactic: 576 622 516 751 753

> A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the *moĕmoĕ* must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moĕmoĕ* frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu* they had broken. [784]

mand. Kava was also brought as a peace offering. A high chief, who was 622
coöperating with me in gathering data, left word for an old man to come to 276
our temporary residence, distant four or five miles. The old man fail- 431 [123]
ing to come, a second messenger was sent with a threat of horsewhipping. 622
Thereupon the old man came as speedily as his years permitted, bearing a 687
large piece of kava. He was profuse in his apologies, saying that he did 576
not know whom it was that had requested his appearance. I noticed that [554]
servants of this chief in approaching bent low and that if he was seated [357]
near the door of the house they would make their exit through a window [516]
rather than pass near him.

A general tapu is placed upon the dishes and the remains of food or 565
drink of a person higher in rank. It was thought that one breaking this tapu 264
would suffer from sore throat, but the person of rank might offset the evil 784
consequences by stroking the throat of the unfortunate person with the hand [753]
(anciently also with the feet). This tapu which holds throughout Tongan [755]
society is particularly observed between a chief and his underlings. To eat in front of a chief is likewise forbidden, the difficulties being avoided by eating with the back turned to the chief (*kaitafoki*).

The head of a person, also the back, is tapu to one of lower rank; it 622
is tapu to pass close behind a chief. At big kava parties a great chief who 576
does not sit in the kava ring takes a position which makes passing behind 565
him unnecessary. 784 [826]

The food of a chief had to be prepared in a certain style and certain 622
portions of mammals or birds were regarded as belonging by special prerog- 262
ative to the chief. A roast pig is presented to a chiefly person in the fol- 252
lowing manner: After the pig has been removed from the oven and placed on its back on the hand barrow, sections of fresh banana leaves tied in place by strips of banana leaf are wrapped about the extremities of the four legs,
the nose, and the region of the rectum. The purpose of this treatment was [784]
said to be the concealing of all those parts of the pig most in contact with anything dirty or filthy. The four parts of a pig which are regarded as fit food for a chief are in order of importance: (a) the back (*tua*), (b) the head (*ulu*), (c) the rump (*tuungaiku*), (d) the chest (*fatafata*), spoken of as the common part.

In serving chickens and pigeons to chiefs, the parts in order of importance are: (a) the rump with the oil glands (*muimui*), (b) the skin of the neck and back (*kiliikia*), (c) the legs (*alanga*), (d) the wings and chest (*hikehika*). I saw the operation of dividing a fowl for a high chief. The oil glands and the bit of skin near the rump were given him first. Then the skin at the base of the skull was broken with the fingers and stripped down the back of the neck on to the back.

gans, not foreigners. This foreign origin does not militate against relationship 565
with the modern chiefs and commoners of Tonga. The matapules have become 173
thoroughly amalgamated with the population through intermarriage. 167

The reason assigned for the employment of foreigners as matapules is that 565
they are exempt from the tapu which separate a Tongan chief and his purely 186
Tongan relatives. Thus Hoakai (Soakai), a matapule to the Tui Tonga, 784
was privileged to eat with the Tui Tonga, a thing which no Tongan might do. 624

Unlike commoners, few matapules were killed by chiefs for offenses. 565
Furthermore, a matapule might leave a chief and go to another for greater 624
reward, though returning to the first chief incurred death. Tongan commoners 622
might be raised to what was virtually matapule rank by being given [681]
titles for prowess in war, industry in agriculture, or success in fishing. [555]

The three great influxes of matapules are traditionally connected with 565
the entry into Tonga of three persons of high rank. From Fiji in the reign 173
of Tuitatui, came Tui Motuliki (afterwards called Tui Talau), the putative 167
supernatural child of the two Maui (Atalanga and Kisikisi). With him
came other Fijians who became matapules of the Tui Tonga. Tui Motuliki
and his followers were warmly welcomed (50, pp. 140-142). Quite [648]
likely later, and probably about 1600, a great influx of Samoans was signalized by the marriage of the Samoan lady Tohuia to the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. A little later came Tapuosi, the Fijian Tui Lakepa, with a following of chiefs and matapules. (See Hocart, 32.) In addition to these three important accretions there was doubtless an intermittent dribbling in of foreigners. (See list p. 504.)

Of particular interest is the matapule Kama (Samoan, Ama). He is a descendant of that Ama who was the father of Tohuia, the wife of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and the mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata. The present matapule Kama, is addressed as grandfather by all of the chiefs of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu, because Ama of Safata, Samoa, was the grandfather of Ngata the first Tui Kanokupolu. The chief Ama of Samoa came first to Tonga, perhaps near the end of the Sixteenth Century, and was followed by his daughter Tohuia, who became the mother of Ngata. The present Kama does not know whether Ama the chief remained in Tonga or returned to Samoa; nor does he know how the Tongan Kama became matapule, but thinks it was because they were foreigners. Kama and his son visited the predecessor of the present Ama in Samoa in 1894. Ama was much annoyed that his relatives in Tonga ranked only as matapule, and told them that they were the descendants of the elder of two brothers, while the Samoan Ama were the descendants of the younger brother. For that reason the visiting Kama was given the chief's kava while in Samoa. The Kama in Tonga have always been appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu

ordered a number of stakes to be stuck up around the *tanungapola* to warn 226
off trespassers until the fishing had been completed. 621
[628]

Members of the resident body of a *tofia* needed no chiefly permission to
use any *tanungapola* on that *tofia*. Informants think that in ancient times [622]
the first catch went direct to the district chief, who forwarded some to his [643]
overlord, the Tui Kanokupolu or the Tui Tonga. (651)

The construction and use of fish traps is said to have been learned from 226
the Samoans. An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps [177]
to the *toutai ika* (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed. [784]
It was stated that a "fish trap," used anciently in trees with a decoy bird [223]
to catch pigeons, was adapted later for use in fishing.

A kind of fish trap (*kau*) was made and used only by the people of 226
Talau, Vavau, about which the following story is told: 176
173

> Two matapules of the Tui Talau, Mapu and Faingaa, invented (?) the *kau* trap.
> Their chief, seeing the merits of the invention, excused these men from all other work,
> and they became local *toutai* (fishers and navigators) and lived like petty chiefs. No [477]
> one else could make their traps. Later these men taught the trade to a man named
> Lulu who carried on their work and enjoyed their privileges after their death. Lulu
> in turn had a successor, name unknown, and so on. Not until King George I freed [462]
> the people were these traps made by everyone—women as well as men. [As the first
> Tui Talau and the first Mapu and Faingaa in Tonga are reputed to have been Fijian [177]
> immigrants, perhaps the *kau* fish trap is a diffused Fijian invention.]

At Tuanekivale, Vavau, were two families whom tradition set aside as 226
specialists in shark fishing: 173

> The title holders in these families, named Palefau and Fetoaua, were called *toutai*, but it is doubtful whether they were so designated by the Tui Tonga. They are said to still exercise their family function. In shark fishing they employed a boat, a bait of pork, and a rope noose. It is said that they could call the sharks about them at will.
>
> It was believed that if while away fishing, things should happen at home to the detriment of the fishers, such as stealing of their property, the sharks could not be caught, no matter how plentiful they might be. In such an emergency, it behooved the fishers to return home and make some sort of peaceful settlement of the difficulty, after which the sharks could readily be caught.

OTHER OCCUPATIONS

In modern Tonga tapa is made by coöperative associations of women 285
(*kautaha*). Each woman contributes an equal amount of white tapa strips, 474
which she has previously prepared, and the manufactured goods are shared among the members of the company. The work is done in specially erected houses and usually under the direction of an old woman.

The making of large mats is done by individual women, but a woman 285
may call upon her neighbors to assist her in her work, with the understanding 476
that the same assistance may be asked in return.

LAW

I use the word "law" in reference to transgression of custom and punishment 671
therefor. The combination of patriarchal and feudal ideas, coupled 121
with the inequality of individuals, makes the study of Tongan jurisprudence
very difficult. Perhaps the greatest difficulty arises from the modification of [177]
legal procedure resulting from the century of Euro-American influence, [797]
chiefly of the churches. No doubt the best picture is to be drawn from the
accounts of voyagers, yet that is an imperfect picture. Such information as I
gleaned firsthand is necessarily very fragmentary.

Certain tapu breaches were thought to bring with them supernatural 784
consequences; certain others were punished at the order of the overlord. 688
There was no judicial branch of government in ancient Tonga. Judges 692
and police were lacking, except in so far as a chief might settle a case and 693
his armed followers execute the judgment. Trials like those in Samoa 625 622
before a parliamentary gathering seem not to have taken place in Tonga. 695
A chief at times acted as arbiter and meted out punishment. 622

Anciently there were no jails and apprehension of a wrong-doer was 681
followed immediately by punishment in one of three ancient forms: *haha* 697
(beating), *hai* (leg and arm binding), and *tamatei* (execution); *hai* consisted
of binding the arms straight behind the culprit or binding the legs, a
punishment which lasted for two or three days.

Two Tongan words, *hia* and *angahala,* are translated as "sin," perhaps 673
in the light of Biblical teachings. Anciently *hia* seems to have signified [682]
murder, or adultery with the wife of a man who was the equal or superior [684]
of the adulterer in rank. The word *angahala* has a much less definite meaning. [565]
It apparently signifies "fault, a habit or mode of action which is [183]
amiss," and also means prostitution. [548]

Whether or not a murderer's family was jointly responsible with him 682
for a killing was not definitely ascertained. One aged Vavau informant 672 [602]
thought that only the murderer was responsible and was uncertain whether
punishment was meted out directly by the injured family or only through
the chief. One informant said that the murder of one commoner by another [578]
resulted in a vendetta between their respective families which continued [627]
until their chief or chiefs ordered it stopped. If a chief killed a [622]
commoner no blood vengeance followed, as a rule. If a chief ordered a [565]
commoner to kill another chief, it might or might not be done.

Assassinations and other executions for political reasons were exceedingly 682
common in Tonga. Mariner records a series of executions ordered 687
by his patron, Ulukalala II, and the accounts of the Tui Tonga give others.
A very distinctive example is the assassination of the Tui Tonga Takalaua

A chief's
son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was 881
no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son. 622

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He 881
was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be 304
an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, [157]
previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire confidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but [593]
might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the [605]
community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator [604] [887]
who was to officiate.

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the [515]
sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates. The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called
hekehcka. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual [516]
tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to [412]
have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored tapa (*fctaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the operation:

> A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.
>
> Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some
> of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled [824]
> back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kavakava-* [752]
> *ulie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.
>
> The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one 881
> might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They 784
> could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in
> the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered [831]
> from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopeanga*) suspended
> from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything [262]
> sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.
>
> In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the 514
> body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, 881
> while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This 881
bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without 515
anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them 752
and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is
said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *haihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout 881
the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was 574
lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present 264
of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers 789
of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast 593
in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the opera-
tion, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present 431
for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one 761
of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. 784
Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to 752
have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but 58
it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some 114
particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fa-* 581
tongia (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To 595
marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states: 837

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death. 684
>
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem 548
> to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. 171

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a 837
person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her
paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people 584
is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the 604
marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans
of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of 584 622 302
a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is 585 543 431
presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced 587
in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin mar- 582
riage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among 622
chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her 565
cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins
was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata
Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

The principal undertakers of the Tui Tonga in the time of the first Falefa 767
were the matapule Aholangamaka and Mailau, who were under the Tui 565
Folaha, the supervisor of stone vault construction. In the time of the second 644
Falefa, at least Tui Loloko, Tui Matahau, and Tui Talau, and presumably
also the fourth, Tui Amanave, had funerary functions.

At the present time the Tui Haa Teiho appoints Fiefia and Ngalu as his
undertakers, while the Tui Kanokupolu has the great matapule Lauaki and
the lesser matapule Mailau and Mau as his undertakers. Ulukalala of
Vavau, like other Vavau chiefs, has no special undertaker, but when he dies
it is likely that Lauaki or Mailau, or some other *haatufunga*, will look after
him. There are many chiefs without undertakers. [622]

The undertakers now in Vavau are: Kata, grandson and representative 767
of Lauaki; Vatuvei, formerly appointed by the Tui Tonga; Aholangamaka 551
of Falevai, the son of Vatuvei.

Lamatau (full name Lamatuuaki: *lama*, to watch the end of life, and 767
tauaki, almost dead) was also a *haatufunga* to the Tui Tonga. His duty was 643
to watch beside the dying man, sitting with a *kie* or *ngafingafi* mat to spread 763
over the corpse. The mat was supplied by the family of the dying person. [551]
After covering the corpse with it, the watcher removes the mat and goes off
with it, retaining it as his property.

Preparation of the body for burial may be done also by relatives of equal 764
or superior rank to the deceased, such as the *fae* (mother, real or classificatory)
or the *mehekitanga* (father's sister, real or classificatory).

Mailau was the title of the matapule who supervised the cutting and 764
moving of stones for the construction of royal tombs. Such work was seen 643
by Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 150). Modern royal tombs are built of concrete; 767
formerly they were of coral limestone. The Tui Tonga Laufilitonga's 349
tomb, Langi Foou, is built of concrete on top of the ancient Langituofefafa. [644]
A list of royal tombs called langi is published (25, 125). The modern
kings, the Tui Kanokupolu George I and George II, are buried in great terraced
concrete tombs in the Malae Kula at Nukualofa.

Upon the undertakers the *nimatapu* (hand-tapu) was imposed for five, 767
ten, or fifteen days, which meant that they could not feed themselves for 784
that length of time after handling a corpse—being fed by others. The period 264
varied with the rank of the deceased. The penalty for touching food was [565]
said to be punishment by the highest chief of the family. A *haatufunga*
might or might not be a relative of the deceased. That the hand tapu on [565]
the undertaker followed the handling of the corpse of persons of scant rank
is not certain.

Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*. Anciently a 764
commoner's corpse might or might not receive such attention, and it was 565
767

on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task 765
called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201). 533

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or matapule. [565]
Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so
mourning for him.

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as 765
a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was 622
removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to 302
whether matapule followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have [622]
cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga
or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The [593]
heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign
of respect and mourning.

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in 765
rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common 554
to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits [784)
in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is [602)
not long.

The term *fakakoloa* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A 764
great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. [554]
This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of [462)
the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served
to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga,
Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to
carry it.

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought 763
to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for 343
this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his matapule and
retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief 764
should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. 343
The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in con- [569]
nection with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the of-
ficial and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or
the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of
dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as- 768

work being practical in its scope. Bottles of coconut oil seen at modern 765
graves are to oil the black pebbles to make them appear even blacker. 531

The *kilikili*, or other decorative materials, were always placed on the grave [462]
by women, among whom were the female relatives of the dead and all [476]
neighboring women who contributed their work as *meaofa* (thing of love),
which would later be reciprocated. The work and the feasting were accompanied and intervalled by mourning and crying. It is customary to hang
wreaths and girdles called *sisi* at graves. Food is not offered to the dead, [261]
but mats and tapa may be.

If the dead were of chiefly rank, the ranking male representative of that 765
chiefly family acted as director of the *lanukilikili*. He set the time for doing 531
it and authorized his official matapule to gather materials and perform other 565
necessary work. His wife, or, in the absence of a wife, the closest female representative, directed that part of the work to be done by women. If the dead was of matapule rank, the chief to whom that matapule owed allegiance directed the work as above, the actual managing, of course, being placed in the hands of an appointed matapule.

The following is an account of a recent interment of a woman of high 764
rank, as witnessed by E. E. V. Collocott: 565

> Mary Siliukitapu, widow of the late Premier Tukuaho, and mother of the Prince Consort Tungi, died on the 29th of July, 1921, and was buried Saturday, the 30th of
> July in the same grave with her late husband. When the time came for the body to [767]
> be placed in the vault a large piece of tapa was put up as a screen so that
> none but the *haatufunga* could see into the grave and behold the remains of Tukuaho. [533]
> A work song (*tauaalo*) was sung whilst the body was being placed in the grave.
>
> A boy told me afterwards that he had assisted in the burial of a child related to 764
> Valu of Utulau. A vault in which a person had been previously buried was opened for the occasion. The boy said that he and others dug the sand off from the top of the vault, lifted the stone slab, and then retired to a distance, so as not to see into
> the vault. A *haatufunga* man alone was allowed to see the remains already there. [767]
> When the covering slab was lifted he concealed these remains with tapa. He took the body of the dead child and put it in the grave.

Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker witnessed the opening of the vault in the Langi Olovehi at Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The vault was in the form of a truncated pyramid with four sides. Its base was about 8 feet long, top about 5 feet long, and depth 4 feet, the stones which formed the sides were about 1 foot thick. The vault was covered by stone slabs about 2 feet thick and 7 feet square which overlapped its mouth. These stones were of a yellowish coral and had a level surface. The body of Tuita which was to be interred was wrapped in fine mats and tapa; it was lowered feet first into the vault, as the opening was too short to allow it being put straight
down. Passed round the edge of the slab were ropes for moving it and [784]
these were pulled by men standing on the ground below the tomb, as they were not allowed to stand on the terrace, because of the tapu. Only

Only
the *haatufunga* were allowed on the top of the tomb. The many bones found 764
outside the vault were called the bones of the *fakafeao* or attendants of the [784]
great people buried within the vault. Interred in the vault are also Nana- [767]
sipauu (Female Tui Tonga), Manumataongo (son of Tui Tonga Laufili-
tonga), and Makahokovalu (the late Tuita's father).

The construction of some royal and some chiefly tombs took place 764
during the lifetime of the prospective occupant, if traditions are to be relied 349
upon. The kings seem in this regard to have evinced something of the in- 643
terest of the pyramid builders of Egypt. The great Tui Tonga Tuitatui and 622
Uluakimata I (Telea) directed the construction of their own tombs (26,
pp. 38, 49). A chief named Lavakahaatuukau had earth transported from
Fiji to build his tumulus at Maufanga, near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. He
had moved his residence from Mua to Maufanga where he died. The tu-
mulus is about 8 feet deep at its center and 75 feet in diameter. The priest 764
Makaui had constructed at Fakakakai, Haano Island, Haapai, a three-com- 349
partment stone vault for the interment of his body, in order to deceive 793
enemies who might attempt to secure his corpse.

Cemeteries other than royal tombs seem to have been utilized by the 764
people of a locality whether or not they were related to one another. Certain 565
cemeteries seem to be used principally for people of the lower orders, while
others hold the remains of people of quite different ranks. No doubt Christi- [177]
anity has had a quite democratizing influence in this respect. Husband and [593]
wife seem to be interred in the same cemetery as a rule, with the exception
of the commoner wives of high chiefs, who were buried apart.

ALBINOS

The prevalence of albinism in Tonga was not determined. I saw an 143
albino child in Haapai. An adult named Manumanu was reported as living
at Muitoa, Huano Island, Haapai. Napaa, a man of Lofanga Island, Haapai,
was reported to have two albino children. Nothing was learned from in- 826
formants as to any special attitude towards or treatment of albinos. How- [266]
ever, a story recorded (26, p. 192) attributes, at least to the female albinos
concerned in the story, anthropophagous habits. Whether this was a general
ancient conception I cannot say.

BERDACHES

Little could be learned about berdaches (*fakafafine*, a word which Baker 838
defines as "a monster"). Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island,
vouchsafed information concerning them. He said that anciently "there
were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tonga-

their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood 776
avoid passing the mound in the dark. 778

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods 776
appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the 825
god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it 784
was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god
might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions [753]
a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which
the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or
catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo,* which is the Tongan rendering of 776
English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old 196
Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interesting
etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed [793]
tevolo as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the
frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient 776
term for a god seems to be *otua.* The term *fili* was given by one informant as 192
a synonym, as was also *puloa.* The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods,
spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or
"different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as
compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua,*
based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have 776
been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several [171]
forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear [778]
to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the [793]
creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology. [773]

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the [643]
gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, [782]
inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed
their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven
seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into
his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral"
(26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered him- [164]
self buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, [762]
p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga [793]
acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony [643]
being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased [643]
Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs [769]
(p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Tongan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

The following anecdote is told:

> Kavaanuku was the name of the Foa Island chief who had soldiers for war. 173
> The soldiers from Tonga came to Foa and fought with Kavaanuku's soldiers. They
> fought and Kavaanuku's soldiers ran to Manakotó's place. They were whipped and 778
> feared the Tongan soldiers. The soldiers from Tonga tied with rope a man and 782
> took him to Manakoto and Kavaanuku, before whom they strangled him. Then Kavaanuku, 726
> likewise strangled a man as an offering to the goddess. Thereupon the soldiers from Tonga strangled two Tongan men and took them to Manakoto, because they wanted Hikuleo's permission to enter her sanctuary and to destroy Kavaanuku's soldiers. Permission was gained when the Tongans sacrificed the two men to the goddess. The sacrificed men were left on the ground to rot outside of the goddess' house. Then the Tongan soldiers attacked and killed all of Kavaanuku's men. That was the first time anyone had attacked the sanctuary of Fanakava. This happened in the time of the great great grandfather of the present Tui Haa Ngana.

Another account of Hikuleo follows:

> Hikuleo had also a shrine in the island of Uiha, Haapai. Her tract of land was 778
> called Taoa, and her house was built thereon. She was appealed to through the 776
> medium of the usual finger sacrifice when there was sickness. People who intended [782]
> to voyage must inform Hikuleo first, otherwise they would encounter bad winds.
> People beseeching the aid of the goddess seated themselves outside of the house in [484]
> which she was believed to be. A man looked after the feeding of the goddess, giving
> her the food which the people brought. All of the people in Uiha worshipped Hikuleo;
> other deities were also worshipped. Hikuleo was the patron goddess of the chief [622]
> Malupo of Uiha. In connection with her worship in Uiha one tapu required every- 776
> one to be quiet for a time at noon, forbidding the beating of tapa or making of any 784
> noise; another tapu forbade orange juggling at night, under penalty of losing one's eyesight; and another forbade old women to make mats, because they [old women?] smelt badly to the goddess.

FEHULUNI

Fehuluni is a widely known Tongan deity who even in Christian times 776
appears as an apparition. The origin of this deity has been related (26, pp. 153-155). My hitherto unpublished information concerning Fehuluni pertains to the Haapai and Vavau groups.

Fehuluni apparently appears always in human form—to a man appearing
in feminine form; to a woman, in masculine form. The person whose [763]
affection is won by Fehuluni is said to die, often wasting away, and people are said to become unconscious on first seeing her. One informant characterized Fehuluni as a *tupui tevolo,* that is an original god rather than an *ata* (shadow). The island of Nomuka, Haapai, is the particular haunt of the deity, where she had a temple, like an ordinary Tongan house, located on
the tract Tuanuku. Three people officiated as priests, a man named Samuel 776
Masivahemolo and his sisters Latu and Fatai, all of whom were inspired at 793
times by Fehuluni becoming incarnate in one of them, the manifestation of 787
the incarnation being trembling. On the occasion of such a divine visitation
the inspired servant of the god remained within the temple. The people who 782
prayed to Fehuluni sometimes entered her house, sometimes remained outside. 778

mant. A joint of the little finger of some close relative of a sick person was 776
sacrificed as an offering to the god and was believed to result in the patient's 778
restoration to health. As in Tongatabu the presence of the gecko indicated [782]
to the supplicants that the god had appeared. At this sanctuary there was a [825]
white stone called Makaui (Calling-stone), thus having the same name as the 776
priest at the god's sanctuary in Maufanga. It is said that when the god 778 823
desired to assemble people he beat upon this stone and people would come.
This statement probably means that the priest beat upon this stone, for [793]
Tongans seem not to discriminate often in their statements between the
priest and the god, which seems natural enough according to the belief that
the priest becomes the embodiment of the god. It is said that when Taufaahau was planning to come to Haapai from Tongatabu to destroy the
temples of the gods, the stone Makaui gave warning of this while Taufaahau
was yet in Tongatabu. The stone Makaui is reported to be buried in a vault
in the cemetery at the beach in Faleloa, but just which vault it is not known.

The account of the Fotua informant (Mesake Lomu) concerning Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua's establishment at Faleloa differs in certain details from the 778
accounts of the Faleloa informants, and makes Makaui the priest, and not
the stone.

> Tui Haa Fakafanua had a temple in Faleloa in the island Foa, Haapai group. 776
> His priest there was named Makaui. The incarnation of the god was the gecko [778]
> (*moko*), to which the people prayed. Should any person be ill, a finger of another [793]
> person would be amputated and taken to Tui Haa Fakafanua. [825]
>
> The god had two other incarnations, namely the man-eating shark *tenifa*, also [782]
> variously called mud shark and tiger shark, and the ordinary shark, *anga*. Should
> anyone desire to tapu his garden (plantation) he would make a wooden image of the 776
> man-eating shark and place it in the garden. If anyone stole from that garden and 825
> later went into the sea, he would be eaten by a shark. In Tui Haa Fakafanua's temple 784
> there was a basket in which was a whale's tooth and turmeric.
>
> Makaui, the priest of the god, owned a double sailing vessel (*kalia*) called the 776
> Fekitaki, which, when not in use, was kept covered with coconut-leaf mats. A man 793
> named Fangu, from Uvea stole the mats and thus exposed the vessel to the sun. [501]
> When Makaui arrived the vessel had been much damaged by exposure. So Makaui
> stood at the water's edge and called out to Tui Haa Fakafanua, "Thy vessel has
> had mischief done unto it. Search for the perpetrator." Shortly afterwards the
> thief Fangu bathed in the sea. Then he sat on the dry sand and made himself some
> kava. While so doing a huge man-eating shark bit and ate him.
>
> Tui Haa Fakafanua appears to have had also a god house and a priest on the [778]
> island of Nomuka, Haapai. It is said that the god made people "silly" who came to [787]
> consult him.

McKern (42) excavated on Pangaimotu Island, near Tongatabu, a mound 776
which was formerly the site of a temple to Tui Haa Fakafanua. Takai, the 778
chief of Pea, is said to have lived for a time on Pangaimotu early in the [772]
nineteenth century, but declined to build his house on this site, which was [789]
evidently then deserted, even though it was a fine high and dry location. His

objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangaimotu 776
were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god 778 784
steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly there- [515]
after, or was never seen again. [833] [763]

HINA

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and 776
consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina 821
can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*).
One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the
designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term
hinehina refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have
been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain
heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or [778]
the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn. [793]

TAUFA

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa of-the-sea. 776
His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital 778
of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau.
This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was
also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of
Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god 776
was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). 825
Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and [782]
proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the
descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called
Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Taufaahau, 776
later King George I. 643 755

Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiofolanga. His health was
poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief
Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was
Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and [778]
Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the
priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they [793]
brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes [787]
pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the
coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sickness
was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At 776
the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure 793
him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better 787
take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better." 755

[Lifuka Island]

> wants. Were the god complaisant to a sick person, he would be taken into Melaia's 776
> house, who would then gently massage the patient and he would recover. When 778
> people came to make supplication to the god they would wreathe themselves about the 782
> neck with *ifi* (chestnut) leaves and veil themselves with white tapa. Loud talking and [757]
> noise were strictly forbidden close to the god's premises in Holopeka. [784]

Ngaohaa was also the principal deity of Fonoifua Island. The chief 776
Taifonoifua, as well as Tui Afitu, was under the protection of this god, who 793
manifested himself only through his priestess, a woman named Fipe. The [825]
god Ngaohaa was probably represented in the shellfish *pava,* like certain
other gods who had fish or shellfish as their representatives. Pava was also [778]
the name of the house or holy place of Ngaohaa, located on the tract Tave.
As usual the presence of the god became manifest by the trembling of the [787]
priestess, who was usually in a reclining position when the god entered her.
Old informants who knew the last priestess said that she was an old woman. Although the deity became manifest in a priestess, he was nevertheless conceived of as a god, not a goddess. The information is not altogether clear as to whether the name Ngaohaa refers only to the god or also to the family to which the priestess Fipe belonged. This family is of matapule rank and some members of it are now living on Oua Island.

Finger sacrifices to this god were resorted to in trouble or sickness. The 776
finger joints cut off were taken to the priestess, who pronounced the will 782
of the god in the matter which was pending. Voyagers sailing from Haapai 776
to Tongatabu, being delayed at Nomuka Island for weeks on account of 484
head winds, went to Fonoifua to beseech the aid of the god Ngaohaa for 782
favorable winds. It is said no offerings were made, but this hardly seems
believable. The premises of the god on Fonoifua comprised a Tongan 776
house of ordinary type, surrounded by a fence of living *puko* stakes such 778
as are to be seen commonly in Tonga to-day. This fence was built and 793
kept in repair by the Fonoifua people, who guarded it, in order that no [417]
harm might befall the priestess. The house itself was on a mound and was [794]
occupied only by the priestess. The rest of her family are said to have dwelt in other houses within the fence.

A god named Uluenga (Head-covered-with-turmeric) had a house at 776
Holopeka, Lifuka Island. The following information about Uluenga was 778
imparted by Ana Manu of Holopeka:

> The priest of the god was named Havea. The shrine (*fakafaanga*) was a basket [793]
> containing three articles, namely, a throwing club, a whale's tooth, and a *paango lafo* (round portion of bottom of the coconut shell used in a game something like deck billiards). These articles were wrapped in white tapa, which was smeared with turmeric. The god had his house on the premises called Haalupo. The holy place or temple was known as Uhaimahu (Rain-in-time-of-plenty). It was not permissible for
> people to enter into the holy place. Also loud talking was prohibited in the god's [784]
> premises.

[Lifuka Island]

In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would 776
place around their necks wreaths of *ifi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They 782
would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick 755
person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside
where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the [757]
priest and would recover.

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person 776
would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the car- 778
riage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. 784
753

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled.
His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided 776
in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and 793
slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with [787]
him in the night time. [595]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called 776
Haa Fakanapa. 782

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his [778]
premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication
to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside [516]
of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole [778]
called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [823]

Deities of Foa Island

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

> Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people [755]
> prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of
> another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished
> piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover.
>
> The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as [793]
> Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, [778]
> a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric.

Deities of Haafeva Island

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being asso- 776
ciated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The 778
spring is called Matahiva. [823]

Deities of Fotuhaa Island

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa,
but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived
was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, [821]
the people bringing coconuts and wreathes (*sisi*) and making kava in front [782]
of the god's house.

> The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the 776
> kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that 793
> the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking 787
> 821

through the priest, would reply, "Very well, you may prepare for rain. Fix the leaky 776
roofs, bring food, and prepare everything for the rain. In four or five days it must 793
rain." On one particular occasion the sixth day dawned without a cloud in the sky, 787
but by three o'clock in the afternoon the rain clouds had assembled and the rain had
begun. The rain lasted for the period which the god had predicted. The Fotuhaa 821
people always followed this procedure whenever they wished rain.

When the missionaries were about to come to Fotuhaa, the god informed the peo- 776
ple that he was going to leave and to take up his residence on the islands of Kao and [797]
Tofua. He knew in advance of the coming of the missionaries. The informant, a [793]
Fotuhaa man, seemed to consider the god and the priest as practically identical. At
least he designated both by the term *taula tevolo.*

This same mode of identifying priest and god was common to most all of [793]
the informants I interviewed concerning the gods.

DEITIES OF HAANO ISLAND

The god of Tui Haa Ngana, the ruler of Haano Island, was called Feinga Uteo (To-earnestly-desire-sugar-cane). Nothing was learned about the attributes or functions of this god. The sanctuary of Hikuleo on this island has been discussed earlier.

Another god of Haano, and one quite prominent also in Tongatabu Island, was Haele Feke.

The sanctuary of this god in Haano was located on the tract which was owned by [778]
the Tui Kanokupolu and was under the care of the matapule Kioa. Haele Feke was [787]
thought to know beforehand what was about to occur. The coming of the god was
indicated by an octopus (*feke*) coming from the sea to the tract where the priest lived. 776
When an octopus thus came, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule Kioa brought tapa and 825
coconut leaf mats (*takapau*). The mats were placed on the ground and the tapa on top
of them, so that the incarnation of the god might rest upon them. The octopus in
which the god became incarnate might be either a white or a brown octopus. The [793]
priest of the god was himself named Feke (Octopus). After the message of the god
had been delivered the priest took the octopus from the pile of tapa to the water. The 776
coming ashore of the octopus was regarded as a harbinger of coming events and such a 787
visit was followed by some anxiety on the part of the people. On one occasion a num- [763]
ber of sick people died a few days after the visit of the god. It was then believed that
the visit was ominous of their forthcoming death. It is said that the house of the [793]
priest was half a mile from the beach and on a site called Fotuamua. It seems inconceivable that an octopus could travel such a distance overland. It would seem more likely that he was received at the beach by the priest. The Tongan informant, from whom the above information was obtained, was unable to say whether the god Haele Feke was male or female.

DEITIES OF MOUNGAONE ISLAND

There were two brother gods in Moungaone. Moso was the name of the elder, 776
Pusipapanga the younger; their father was Tutumatua; the mother, Finetaunganoa.
Toke was the priest for both gods. Their incarnations were human in form and manifested themselves in one house on the tract Nukutuli. They lived in a rock on Moungaone called Mosomaka, which was about ten feet high, round and hollow and could
be entered. It was tapu; people dared not go near it under penalty of death. The [784]
god Moso was the same as Moso in Samoa. The priest Toke shook when inspired and [177]
[787]
[793]

told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest 776
shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present 787
Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the 793
two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

DEITIES OF NOMUKA ISLAND

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people 782
prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little 755
finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but 776
could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living 821
in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind 505
quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was
set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that 776
Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, 266
a shellfish which is not eaten by the people. 784
262

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

DEITIES OF UIHA ISLAND

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information,
Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent
described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as 825
his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a 778
tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there 776
and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the 793
people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest 782
to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. 776
The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other 755
words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well. 605

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god 776
Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not wor- 784
shippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the 262
spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If 785
they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in an-
other direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god 825
was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests 776
of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn 793
the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the 787
god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered [illegible]
by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of [illegible]
cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one 304
of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat"
of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely 782
consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

eat everything because his god was in him. To Haveakai, and to other Tongan gods, a 776
huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized 793
root was called *konga kava*. 782 [276]

The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract 776
Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was 793
kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and 778
then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place
where it was kept.

This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people 776
prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian 782
chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and [301]
pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. [516]
No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did. [563]

The bird of the god is the fruit dove *kulukulu* (*Ptilopus porphyraceus*) and the 776
spirit of the god entered the *kulukulu*. If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise [825]
of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shiv- [787]
ered and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the [763]
point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu [782]
and that offering was accepted, the person recovered.

Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumoetoto.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it. The [793]
things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was [778]
the *kalevu* (*Eudynamis tahitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated [825]
dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person
near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumoetoto [782]
and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made [755]
the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacri- [763]
fice to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit out- [784]
side. This god belonged to Tuita Toluafetupu and his family and was regarded as very [778]
sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to
enter, the god's premises.

Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived [793]
in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa
Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaanga*) and container of his sacred objects [778]
of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe*, *Globicera pacifica*) which he [825]
would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the
pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he [755]
and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks [782]
and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine.

This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the [782]
young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. [784]
For the same reason the name Manumataongo Polau Faivaka was never called.

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face [787]
to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the
ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish [276]
(*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava,
he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb.

All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place. [784]

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

Seketoa, who according to all versions belongs to the royal family of Niua, may 776
well be a mere "invention" of one of the kings of Niua, framed for the purpose of
deceiving his subjects and of forestalling any future revolt on their part against his 825
family. The fear of displeasing Seketoa, the sea-god and ancestor of Maatu may have secured the latter's authority and prevented the natives tired of his domination from quitting the island in frail canoes in search of new lands.

Those who may feel satisfied with this explanation might confirm it by saying that 776
elephantiasis and diseases of the skin prove that the punishment occasioned by the 825
murder of Seketoa is always upon the population. That such diseases exist and are the 753
plague of the country I know from experience. I remember a kava in which I took
part in Niua, while I was there some years ago on a protracted visit. We sat nine 164
in all. With the exception of the two girls that were preparing the drink, we were all afflicted with elephantiasis. I think, however, that the marshes of the island were rather a more efficient cause of it than Seketoa.

However that may be, and although I may be called a simpleton for it, I will add 776
that those conjectures concerning Seketoa deserve no credit, though I am disposed to 825
believe that in his manifestations there is something mysterious and disquieting. Such as have dwelt a certain number of years in our islands know how difficult it is to dislodge the devil from his haunts. Now, at the close of the last century, he was absolute master of Niua Toputapu. If he was forced to yield ground, he did so reluctantly; and at all events was careful to leave deceitful snares behind him. And what can his apparent help prove in the case I have related of the *lali* of our Catholics? Absolutely nothing, if not that all means are good enough for him, so long as he can induce souls into error and ravish from God some of the honor and confidence which are His due.

Once when Father Thomas, S. M., was near Niuatoputapu, he saw Seketoa about his boat for more than two hours. He describes him as a large fish with changing colors. On another occasion Seketoa saved one of the members of the mission from drowning. Father Thomas, together with some natives, was proceeding on a raft which began to sink. When hope was lost, Seketoa appeared beneath the raft and buoyed it up until they reached shore safely.

The chief Maatu spoke of two rocks between Niuatoputapu and Samoa, 776
called Fatukau and Fatukalapu, which were deified. They were the home of the god Fatuulu:

Fatuulu, in human form, used to come to Tafahi Island and give commands. His
voice was heard to Niuatoputapu Island. A man who used to be his mouthpiece was
named Toumaama, meaning "man near god (*tou*) spreader (of god's words)." He was [793]
the priest in the time of Ngongo (p. 285). There is a place on Tafahi to be seen now where
Fatuulu stood. They never ate fish in Niuatoputapu until the god gave permission. If [784]
anyone ate before the god lifted the tapu that person died immediately on the first [262]
mouthful. This applied to all fish. Toumaama notified the people for the god. When [787]
the god came, Toumaama would tremble like a leaf, and would neither eat nor drink.
The god came and went as he pleased. The tapu was put on or lifted as the god
liked. The presence of the god is still evidenced by the fact that certain small fish [226]
(*kaloama*) immediately leave if proper form is not observed in catching them.

When the god appeared in the priest, he uttered commands as to killing of pigs. 776
Thunder and lightning accompanied the god as he walked over the ocean. The priest 793
then became possessed, for the god came and entered into the priest. The face of the 787
priest was all illuminated, his eyes staring. The people would hide when the god [252]

lineal lineages. Thus, it is proper to speak only of the gods of chiefs and 776
of lineages not of the gods of localities. Often more than one god was 613
attached to a lineage. Thus the head of the Haa Takalaua might be under the protection of a great god like Finautauiku. All members of the lineage were likewise under that god's protection, and in addition, certain members of the lineage might have lesser gods as their patrons.

Aside from Tangaloa Tufunga, the patron of carpenters, I could learn 776
of no occupational deities. The attachment of a god to the head of a family 463
might give the appearance of occupational deities. Thus, the head of a 592
matapule family, which practiced carpentering, or functioned as undertakers, might have a certain deity as his patron, but as the patron of the family rather than of the occupation.

Not only did the priest of a lineage or family act as a medium between 793
the lineage and the gods, but also as a medium between the lineage and the 775
spirits of its dead. Offerings were made to these spirits by the family 769
through the priest. It was thought that these ancestors could cause illness, [613]
a belief which doubtless led to the making of propitiatory offerings. However, [753]
other more direct and retaliatory means were sometimes resorted to. The grave of the offending ancestor might be broken open, the bones taken
out and beaten, and imprecations uttered. To avoid sickness caused by the [753]
spirit of the deceased relative or ancestor, Tongans did not pass through [764]
or near graveyards at night. It was thought that the spirits of ancestors 775
sometimes became visible. Thus, at Tatakamotonga in Tongatabu, a light, supposed to be Tukuaho's spirit (*faahikehe*), is sometimes seen at the spot
where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was murdered in 1799. Not only 776
families headed by chiefs, but also those headed by matapule, had patron 565 592
gods. Some families of commoners had a household or patron deity. The family of the great matapule Motuapuaka had the god Haele
Feke as its patron. This god became incarnate in the octopus and [825]
there was a tapu against Motuapuaka's people eating that animal. A Meth- [784]
odist minister named Malupo, who is a member of Motuapuaka's lineage, [262]
even to-day gets a headache when he eats octopus. This god sometimes 776
manifested himself in the priest, who conveyed verbally the messages of the 793 787
god, and upon the withdrawal of the god shook so violently, that people must rush to him and hold him, in order that he might not injure himself.

The patron deity of the Tui Tonga is reported by Farmer (23) to 776
have been Hikuleo. The patron deity of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the 643
great chief Tungi, was Finautauiku and the officiating priest was Mohelkifiehua. The patron deity of the Tui Kanokupolu was Taliai Tupou whose priest was called Totohoumafisi. Tui Ahau was by some informants declared to be another manifestation of Taliai Tupou, by other informants a separate deity. Tui Ahau was regarded as a patron of the Tui Kano-

Tasman (30, p. 32) mentions the respect paid to the sea snake: "I have 778
seen one of these persons take up a water-snake which came floating by 825
his prow, lay it upon his head with great reverence, and then put it into the 776
water again."

Neither the large green tree lizard called *fokai*, nor the pretty little skink called *pili*, seem to have been sacred to any god.

MANA

The word "mana" in Tongan means "miracle, thunder; to bewitch, to 778
cause something to happen to another." Apparently the Tongan concept [171]
of mana differs from the Melanesian concept, inasmuch as the power is not believed to be resident in stones and other natural objects which can be placed in a plantation or on the reef to secure success in horticultural
or fishing operations. To be sure, if a man's yams grow well and his pigs 778
multiply, it is said that he has mana, but the mana is due to the favor of a 776
god, or gods, not to an impersonal supernatural power. Ghosts and de- [775]
parted relatives were never the source of mana in Tonga, but only the [784]
tupui otua or original gods. Conversely, loss of mana is due to conduct displeasing to a god.

A son can inherit his father's mana only by following his father's con- 778
duct. Should the son err, the mana may leave him, being bestowed upon [428]
another man. To-day it is thought that mana attaches to a good Christian, especially a clergyman (*faifekau*). A man, poor but a good Christian, who is quickly blessed with plenty, has had mana bestowed upon him by God.
A person who fails to achieve success does so because of the non-bestowal [777]
of mana upon him, which is no more visible than is a god, its presence being manifested by an abundance of world's goods. One informant gave the term *mofi* (to astonish, to cause fear) as the word describing the power of a god, which is probably to a large extent equivalent to mana.

One informant took pains to emphasize that faith in the gods, not offer- [776]
ings, was the necessary prerequisite to the acquisition of mana. Other in- [782]
formants said that prayer and sacrifice to the gods were necessary. A per- [777]
son who is endowed with mana is called a *monuia* (lucky person), a term based on the stem *monu* (lucky).

The term *manahi* (obviously based on the stem mana) means anger. If 778
a father were angry ("wild") at a son for two or three years, the son would 753
be likely to sicken and die. The father, however, could make him well again [593]
by forgiving him and touching the son's body with his hands. Presumably the same result would follow from the anger of any superior relative. Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

> The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of 763
> anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead rela- 775
> tive several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead 764
> from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases
> whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them
> up. This method is looked upon as infallible. 763
>
> When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so 753
> that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually 768
> burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection! 593
> Anyone else may do so with impunity.

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize 763 784
what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would 764
ensue. 262

OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *lea tuki* (*lea*, speech; *tuki*, a super- 626
stitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be ac- 763
cursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the admin- 695
istering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death.
The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-
seated that swearing falsely results in death. 695

While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding 626
school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put 685
on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of them- [763]
selves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have [783]
averted such a fate by confession.

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and 675
a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact 779
is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is 782
regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of
the book holders.

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother 782
be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148).
The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that
waves."

TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things 784
inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things [171]
which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast.
Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern
practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus
placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction.
Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu

breaker. An example of such a tapu is the placing of a shark, or other 784
fish, emblem upon a tree in a plantation, with the penalty that the tapu
breaker will be devoured by a shark or other savage fish, the representative
of a god such as Taufaitahi. I noted these tapu signs, as well as those
used by medical practitioners in both Eua and Nomuka islands.

The tapus placed by medical practitioners consist of leaf or coconut fiber 784
(*kaka*) bundles containing pulverized leaves, which are attached to trees or 753
hung on sticks or fences. (I saw one on a barbed wire fence.) To defy
this tapu is to become afflicted with boils or some other ailment. The tapu
tree is called *taungatapu* (tapu roost), and this practice by which thieves are
said to be accursed is called *tuki*. The following note by Mr. W. H. Murley
refers to this practice of *tuki*:

> All Tongans are more or less doctors (of a sort), but every family has a specific 756
> for some particular disease—there is no general doctor amongst them. For in- 759
> stance, one family will have the gift of curing wounds or stopping bleeding merely
> by touch. Others again are specialists in strains and so on. But nearly every disease
> that they cannot describe as either a break, strain, wound, or cramps comes under the 753
> general heading of *hangatamaki*. The nearest translations are "boil and ulcer," but
> the term is applied to both internal and external complaints. For example, rheuma-
> tism and ordinary boils on the skin are both classed as *hangatamaki*. Each particular 756
> kind has its separate doctor and although another person might use the same specifics 759
> the effect will not be produced. All this preamble is necessary to explain the tapu. 784
> If a farmer is tired of having the coconuts stolen off his plantation and is desirous of
> having them tapu, he will go to a man who has the reputation of curing a certain 756
> *hangatamaki*, say styes on the eyes, and beg him to go along to his plantation (*epi*) 753
> and tapu the coconuts. With this end in view the doctor will make up a few packages 685
> containing odds and ends and hang them in conspicuous positions on various coconut
> trees. From that time on the plantation is tapu and should anyone, even the owner,
> take coconuts away, or even touch one he will be afflicted with that particular *hangatamaki*
> and will have to go to the one who put on the tapu in order to get cured. When
> the sufferer is cured he will bring along a substantial present to the doctor in payment
> for services. The tapu is only taken off at the wish of the owner, who, accompanied
> by the one who put it on, goes and takes down the packages from the various trees.

The term *sausau* was given by one informant as another word that 784
applies both to the concrete object attached to the tree or other property 753
and to the curse or malediction accompanying it and falling upon the tapu 685
breaker, who becomes subject to the curse of the one who put up the tapu
badge. By another informant *sausau* was listed as one of several tapus
and "sickness." The others are *tapuofe* (to bend under a load), *mahangalei* [164]
(twins, one of each sex), *kahipapalangi* (*kahi*, goiter; *papalangi*,
European), *hulupa*, and *kahitoto*.

According to Methodist informants, a Free Church minister in Faleloa, 784
Foa Island, Haapai, at the time of my visit was engaged in the lucrative
side line of tapuing coconut trees against rats, banana patches against horses,
and yam plantations against pigs. White calico consecrated by contact with [778]
the Bible was the tapu emblem employed. The reputation for efficacy

which this clergyman enjoyed is further exemplified by the following anec- 784
dote: A married couple failed to produce children. They besought the 784
aid of this clergyman and brought to him a pig. Still they were not blessed 842
with a baby. Their neighbors said that the pig was not big enough. Apparently the procedure is the same as in heathen times.

Anciently, a priest might tapu a banana tree with its fruit by hanging a 784
reed (*kaho*) on it. It was tapu for anyone to eat bananas from the tree 793
under fear of sickness or death. The people regarded the priest "almost like a god." If he said a man would be dead tomorrow, the man died. If a person were sick or fell from a tree, or had other bad luck, it was regarded as evidence that he had stolen tapu bananas.

Peter Vi (3) tells of the following as taking place about 1830:

> There was little food at Haapai [Lifuka], because there was a tapu on the yams, [261]
> and the pigs, etc., because they were preparing for the feast of the marriage of the Tui Haapai [Taufaahau] and Asipau.

It is said that if a commoner eats or drinks of the coconuts that grow 784
on the top of the walled mound Siamafuauta, or rests there, he or she will 565
become afflicted with goiter or some other sickness. This is because it is [753]
a chief's place and supernormally guarded by the Tui Tonga's tapu. This belief is still prevalent among the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Maúfanga, Tongatabu.

It was tapu for a woman to step over a growing yam vine, presumably 784
lest the plant be blighted. The term *hinakaiunga* refers to gray-headedness as a punishment for eating crab.

It was tapu to eat or drink the remains of the meal of a person higher [565]
in rank, a sore throat or swollen stomach being the probable result. [753]

The following account was recorded by Collocott on January 29, 1921. 784
It reveals the tapus connected with superior relatives. 604

> The girl Ika is suffering from a pain in her jaw; there seems to be a wisdom tooth growing. Amongst other measures for relief she went to her father's sister and told her about it, lest she should in this aunt's house have eaten something she should not, such as, remains of the aunt's food. The latter lady told her that there could be nothing of that, and that the trouble could be accounted for materially. Ika is named after [553]
> the mother of her father and after this sister of her father—[the name Ika was given by the grandmother herself during her lifetime] and this naming gives her great immunities, in fact, seems to confer on her all the immunities that would be enjoyed by the older Ika herself were she still alive, but the girl's own inclination clearly is to use very sparingly her privileges. The aunt has given her food and drink left by her (Ika's) father, but she has not ventured to eat or drink them. She frequently goes to this aunt's place and eats there, and used to sit outside the house when eating or drinking, but the aunt, independently apparently of the efficacy of the name Ika, has got her to come inside and take her food, just like one of her own family. It was this practice that seemed to lend color to the girl's fear that her toothache was caused
> by improper eating. Had a broken tapu been the cause of Ika's tooth trouble the aunt [755]
> could have cured it by stroking the spot. Incidentally, Ika mentioned to me that the 784
> penalty for using the comb of one who is tapu to me is that my hair turns gray. 827
> 302

For an inferior person (petty chief, matapule, or commoner) to walk 784
by a chief's house smoking is an affront; also riding horseback, carrying 565
an umbrella, wearing a turban (*fau*), or having a garland (*sisi*) around the
neck, although a *sisi* around the waist is permitted. Conversation must stop [521]
in passing a chief's house. Breaches are subject to punishment by thrashing, [689]
often by the chief himself. The conception of a supernatural punishment
seems not to be entertained.

The Hihifo district of Tongatabu is tapu. No one is allowed to sing or 784
to yell, either in settlements or in the bush. Drums may not be beaten. 643
People must not run about in the town, and all must wear ragged mats (*taovala*) as signs of humility. These rules are enforced because of the Tui Kanokupolu and are observed in Hihifo whether the Tui Kanokupolu is in Hihifo or in Nukualofa. Again no supernatural punishment followed a breach of these rules.

OCCUPATIONAL CEREMONIAL

Christianity has been too long established is Tonga to permit of much 789
information being obtained to-day concerning religious practices for the
furtherance of various occupations. Apparently the greatest of all ceremonials 789
of this character was the *inasi*, or Harvest Festival, which obviously 527
had as its aim the perpetuation of agricultural welfare. It was in [782]
honor of Hikuleo, but the offerings were brought to the Tui Tonga, whom [776]
Farmer (23, p. 129) says was the high priest of this deity, a statement which cannot be verified to-day. Cook (19, p. 336) witnessed an *inasi* ceremony at which the Tui Tonga presided. The *inasi* is also described by Wilson (65, 66) and by Mariner (40,41).

Boat building, fishing, pigeon snaring, and presumably even rat shooting 789
were preceded by ceremonial observances, but what these ceremonies [396]
were I did not learn except in the most casual way, as the following fragmentary [226]
notes indicate. Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 59, 60) describes observances [223] [224]
in connection with shark fishing.

Just what ceremonies were performed at the launching of a vessel I did not learn. 788
Before a new vessel could be boarded by a woman, however, a ceremony called *hopokivaka* 562
was performed. This took place at or after the launching and was usually 396
performed by a woman, though sometimes by a man.

The first shark caught in a new fishing boat (*tafaanga*) is called *tokialiu*. A celebration 226
in honor of this event bears the same name. When five sharks have been 788
caught in a *tafaanga* another ceremony occurs, called *fakatoululoto*. When ten sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga*, a third ceremony takes place, called *fakatouluhoko*. Thereafter sharks may be caught without further ado.

In pigeon snaring a man stood on the lookout for the pigeons at the mound. At 788
their first appearance in the distance, looking only as big as the *nono* (defined by Baker 223
as an insect and by the informant Havili as an insect smaller than an ant), dances

787 now, or the greatest chief present, goes and sits
634 at the head of the ring.

554 It might be supposed that this violent agitation
276 on the part of the priest is merely an assumed
appearance for the purpose of popular
deception; but Mr. Mariner has no reason at
787 all to think so. There can be little doubt, however,
154 but that the priest, on such occasions,
793 often summons into action the deepest feelings
of devotion of which he is susceptible, and by a voluntary act disposes his mind, as much as possible, to be powerfully affected: till at length, what began by volition proceeds by involuntary effort, and the whole mind and body become subjected to the overruling emotion. But there is nothing new in all this: ancient times, as well as modern, afford numerous instances of this nature; and savage nations, as well as civilized, display ample testimony that false religions, and false notions of religion, act upon some minds with such extraordinary impulses, that they are mistaken for divine inspirations.

It happens in the Tonga Islands, that persons,
787 who are not priests, are often visited by the
154 gods, particularly females, but who are never
784 affected in the manner above described: they
are generally low spirited and thoughtful, as if some heavy misfortune had befallen them, and, as the symptom increases, they generally shed a

profusion of tears; they sometimes swoon away 787
for a few minutes: the height of the paroxysm 154
generally lasts from a quarter to half an hour. 784
These are also called fits of inspiration, and are
firmly believed to be visitations from some god
who accuses the party of neglect of religious
duty, not by an apparent audible warning, but
by an inward compunction of conscience. But 787
these things are also common enough in all 154
parts of the world, at home as well as abroad.
Some of the natives are such adepts at this sort
of mysterious conversation with the divinities,
that they can bring on a fit of inspiration whenever
they feel their mind at all so disposed.
Mr. Mariner, indeed, did once witness a rare [276]
instance of a man who was disappointed in this
particular: finding himself, as he thought, about
to be inspired, some cava was brought to him
(as is usual on such occasions), but, in a little
while, he was obliged to acknowledge that the
god would not visit; at which all present were
greatly surprised, and so the cava was taken
away again.

These imaginations, however, have sometimes [755]
produced very serious consequences: to give an
instance; on one occasion a certain chief, a [763]
very handsome young man, became inspired,
but did not yet know by whom; on a sudden
he felt himself exceedingly low spirited, and

766 during the siege. This being granted, they
727 came and singled out half a dozen, from the
350 that lay about, whom they knew, from
particular circumstances, to be their relations.
These they took home to Nookoo Nookoo, leaving
all the rest where they found them.

669 Every day a number of deserters from different
garrisons came over to Finow: they all
726 brought intelligence that Finow might shortly
expect an attack from one or other of them:
but the fortress of Nioocalofa was now well
prepared to receive them. In the meanwhile,
the chief of a fortress called Bea, about four
miles to the eastward, entered into an alliance
with Finow, or rather submitted to his dominion,
acknowledging him king of Tonga. The
name of this chief was Tarky.

Having remained a fortnight or three weeks
in daily expectation of an attack from an enemy,
and seeing yet no signs of it, Finow became
exceedingly impatient; for he was desirous
of returning to the Hapai islands to perform
an indispensable ceremony of a religious
766 nature, which we shall now explain. At the
death of Tooitonga, (their great divine chief)
784 there is such a constant feasting for nearly a
262 month, as to threaten a future scarcity of certain
765 kinds of provisions: to prevent which evil,
643 a prohibition, or *táboo*, is afterwards laid upon
[565]

hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, so that nobody but 766
great chiefs may use them for food, under pain
of death. This *táboo* lasts about eight months. 784
When Mr. Mariner first arrived at these islands, 262
Tooitonga, the predecessor of the present Tooi- 765
tonga, had just died, and the ceremony of his 643
burial was being performed; though this gen- [565]
tleman had not the opportunity of witnessing
it. All the feasting consequent upon this event
being over, the *táboo* was imposed upon the ar-
ticles above named; and now, after the lapse of
eight months, comes the period to take it off,
and the accomplishment of this constitutes the
ceremony in question. It must be mentioned, [796]
by the way, that two or three plantations are [565]
not subject to this *táboo*, to the end that hogs,
fowls, and cocoa-nuts, may be furnished for oc-
casional religious rites, and for the consumption
of the higher order of chiefs. If the removal of
the *táboo* were not performed in due time, it is
supposed that the Gods would become exceed-
ingly angry, and revenge themselves by the
death of some of their great chiefs.

Finow, as before stated, seeing no appearance 766
of an enemy, and being anxious to return to 765
Hapai for the performance of this ceremony, con- 787
sulted the Gods, and was admonished by them 634
to proceed to the Hapai islands as soon as pos-
sible. With this view, he at first intended to 634
728

727 could know nothing of the contents; and that
634 the histories of whole nations were thus handed
177 down to posterity, without spoiling by being
kept (as he chose to express himself). Finow acknowledged this to be a most noble invention, but added, that it would not at all do for the Tonga islands, that there would be nothing but disturbances and conspiracies, and he should not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month. He said, however, jocosely, that he should like to know it himself, and for all the women to know it, that he might make love with less risk of discovery, and not so much chance of incurring the vengeance of their husbands.

[522] This circumstance served greatly to amuse and interest Finow and all his chiefs during
484 their day's stay at Pangaimotoo. The following morning they again embarked, and sailing with a favourable wind for the Hapai islands, they arrived at Namooca, and ultimately at Lefooga.

262 Orders were now issued, and preparations were
796 speedily made for the ceremony of annulling
766 the eight months *taboo*. The places appro-
784 priated for this purpose were two *maláis*, and the
765 grave of Tooitonga. For distinction's sake, we shall call the first *malái* Tooitonga's, and the
[349] second Finow's. Tooitonga's *malái* is near his own residence, and on this were erected four

columns of yams in the following manner: four 262 796
poles, about eighteen feet long, were fixed upright 766
in the ground, to the depth of a few feet, 784
at about four feet distance from each other in a
quadrangular form; the spaces between them, 765
all the way to the top, being crossed by smaller 349
poles about six inches distant from each other,
and lashed on by the bark of the *fow* (species
of the Hibiscus); the interior of this erection
being filled up as they proceeded with yams;
and afterwards other upright poles were lashed
on to the top with cross pieces in like manner,
still piling up the yams; then a third set of
poles, &c., till the column of yams was about
fifty or sixty feet high, when on the top of all
was placed a cold baked pig. Four such columns
were erected, one at each corner of the
malái, the day before the ceremony, and three
or four hundred hogs were killed, and about
half baked. The following day the hogs were 262
carried to the king's *malái*, about a quarter of a 796
mile off, and placed upon the ground before the 766
house, as well as four or five wooden cars or 784
sledges full of yams, each holding about five 765
hundred. While this was doing, and the people
assembling from all quarters, those who were
already arrived sat themselves down round the
king's *malái*. Occasionally some of them got [517]
up to amuse themselves and the rest of the com- [526]

262 pany by wrestling with one another. The king
796 and his chiefs, all dressed in plaited *gnatoo*, were
766 already seated in the house, viewing what was
784 going forward. The company being, at length,
765 all arrived, and having seated themselves, the
[517] king gave notice that the ceremony was to begin.
[526] The young chiefs and warriors, and those
who prided themselves in their strength, then
[292] got up singly, and endeavoured in turns to carry
off the largest hog: when one failed, another
262 tried; then a third, and so on, till every one
796 that chose had made a trial of his strength. To
766 carry one of the largest hogs is not a thing easy
784 to be done, on account of its greasiness as well
765 as its weight; but it affords a considerable share
482 of diversion to see a man embracing a large fat
[565] baked hog, and endeavouring to raise it on his
shoulder. As the hog was found too heavy for one man's strength, it was carried away by two, whilst a third followed with its liver. They were deposited on the ground near Tooitonga's *malái*, where the men waited till the other hogs were brought. In the mean time the trial was going on with the second hog, which being also found too heavy for one man, was carried away by two in like manner; and so on with the third, fourth, &c., the largest being carried away first, and the least last. The second, third, fourth, &c. afforded more sport than the first,

as being a nearer counterbalance with a man's 262
strength. Sometimes he had got it nearly upon 796
his shoulder, when his greasy burden slipped 766
through his arms, and, in his endeavour to save 784
it, brought him down after it. It is an honour
to attempt these things, and even the king, 765
sometimes, puts his hand to it*. The small 482
hogs and pigs afforded no diversion, as they were easily lifted and carried away, each by one man, and deposited, not at the outside of Tooitonga's *malái* along with the largest hogs, but carried at once into it, where the cars of yams were also dragged one at a time. When [634]
every thing was thus cleared from the king's [565]
malái, the company got up and proceeded to the other, where they again seated themselves, whilst Tooitonga presided, and the king and his chiefs, out of respect, sat on the outside of the ring among the great body of the people. The large hogs which had been deposited in the neighbourhood of this *malái* were now to be brought in, each by one man, and, as it had been found that one man's strength was not sufficient to raise any of them upon his shoulders, two others were allowed to lift the hog and place it upon his shoulders for him, and then he tottered in with his load, followed by another

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* Nevertheless, as will be seen hereafter, they are a very cleanly people. [515]

11

262 man with the liver; and in this manner all the
796 hogs and their livers were carried in and de-
766 posited in two or three rows before Tooitonga.
784 Their number was then counted by the head
cooks of Tooitonga and Finow, and announced
765 aloud to Tooitonga by his own head cook; the
482 number of cars and piles of yams was also announced at the same time.

This being done, about twenty of the largest hogs were carried to Tooitonga's burying-place, nearly an hundred yards distant: those which were too heavy for one man to lift being put upon his shoulders by two others, &c., as before, and deposited near the grave; one car of yams was also taken and left in like manner.

262 This portion of pork and yam being disposed
796 of, the remainder was shared out in the follow-
766 ing manner: one column of yams was allotted
784 to the king, to be removed in the afternoon,
and to be disposed of as he pleased: (he always
765 shares it among his chiefs and fighting men:) another column was allotted to Veachi* and two or three other chiefs: the third was given to the gods; (the priests always take care of this portion;) and the fourth Tooitonga claimed for his own share. As to the cars of yams, they

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[565]
[643]
[776]
* Veachi, like Tooitonga, is a divine chief, that is descended from a god; he is, however, inferior to Tooitonga, but higher in rank than the king: see second volume of the work.

were never inquired after: Tooitonga generally 262
takes care of them, and appropriates them to his 796
own use, and that of his numerous household, 766
not that he has any legal right to them beyond 784
custom and silent consent. The hogs were disposed 765
of in like manner: the greatest quantity
to the greatest chiefs, who share them out to the chiefs immediately below them in rank, and these again to their dependants, till every man in the island gets at least a mouthful of pork and yam. The ceremony now concluded with dancing, wrestling, &c. after which, every person present having secured his portion, retired to his home to share it with his family. From this moment the *taboo*, or prohibition upon hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, was null and void.

The hogs and yams left at Tooitonga's grave, having remained there several days, (till the pork stunk,) were shared out, by order of Tooitonga, to all who chose to apply for a portion.
They belong indeed properly to the principal [565]
chiefs; but as they are accustomed to feed upon meat in a better state of preservation, they forego their claims, and allow the lower orders to eat it for them. Mr. Mariner could not learn why the pork was thus left till it was scarcely eatable—the only answer he could get was, that such was the ancient custom. It may perhaps be considered an offering to Tooitonga's ances-

262 tors, which it would be sacrilegious to take
796 away while it was good for any thing.

766 Finow had three daughters, the eldest of
784 whom, now about eighteen years of age, had
765 been long betrothed to Tooitonga, who having
expressed his wish that the marriage should
643 take place, Finow gave orders for the necessary
581 preparations, about five days after the above-mentioned ceremony. Tooitonga was now about forty years of age. The particulars of this chief's marriage, which was somewhat different from those of other chiefs, shall be here described.

643 The young lady having been profusely anoint-
585 ed with cocoa-nut oil, scented with sandal-wood,
was dressed in the choicest mats of the Naviga-
[302] tor's islands, of the finest texture, and as soft as
[292] silk; so many of these costly mats were wrapped round her, perhaps more than forty yards, that her arms stuck out from her body in a ludicrous manner; and she could not, strictly speaking, sit down, but was obliged to bend in a sort of half-sitting posture, leaning upon her female attendants, who were under the necessity of again raising her when she required it. A young girl, about five years of age, was also dressed out in a similar manner, to be her immediate and particular handmaid. Four other young virgins, about sixteen years of age, were also her fol-

643 formerly they used bamboo) to try their skill in
585 carving with speed and dexterity, which is con-
[252] sidered a great recommendation. A considera-
[412] ble part was shared out to the chiefs, each taking
[177] his portion and putting it in his bosom[*]. The
[565] remainder of the pork was then heaped up and scrambled for at an appointed signal. The woman who had laid herself down, covered over with *gnatoo*, now rose up and went away, taking with her the *gnatoo*, and the basket containing the bottles of oil, as her perquisites. Tooitonga then took his bride by her left hand, and led her to his dwelling, followed by the little girl and the other four attendants. The people now dispersed, each to his home. Tooitonga being arrived with his bride at his residence, accompanied her into the house appropriated for her[†],

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[784] [262] [*] It is a peculiar religious injunction in this ceremony, that the chiefs should put their pork in their bosoms, for they never eat it themselves: and as it is *tabooed* by touching them, no other native of the Tonga islands may eat it: so that it generally falls ultimately to the lot of the natives of the *Fiji* islands, or other foreigners present, who are not subject to the *taboo* of Tonga. For the nature of the *taboo*, reference must be made to the second volume of the work.

[595] [342] [565] [784] [†] It must be noticed that every great chief has within his fencing several houses, one or more of which always belongs to his wives. He seldom goes to their house to sleep: he generally sends for one to sleep with him; at least, this is always the case with Tooitonga, for nobody can eat, drink, or sleep, in the same house with him without being *tabooed* (see *Taboo*.)

ignorance of its being about to take place. He 628
acknowledged, however, that Toobo Toa con- 634
fided to him his intentions, and asked his assistance, which he promised: but that he had made this promise without meaning to fulfil it; thinking by this method to satisfy for a time the urgent solicitations of that chief: lest, not having made it, he should undertake the rash act before proper measures could be adopted to prevent it.

While he was yet speaking, his own wives and women, having been sent for, came and sat down behind him. His speech being ended, half an hour's silence ensued; nobody daring to deliver his sentiments. The company then rose, by Finow's order, and followed him to his house. As he passed the body, he ordered it to be lifted up and carried before him. When the procession arrived, the body was 634
laid down on the outside of the house, and 764
washed all over with a mixture of oil and water (as is always customary.) This office was per- [784]
formed by one of Finow's wives and Mr. Mariner; nobody else offering to do it, on account of their objections to being *taboo'd* *. Finow's [643]

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* No person can touch a dead chief without being *taboo'd* [766]
for ten lunar months, except chiefs, who are only *taboo'd*
for three, four, or five months, according to the superiority [264]
of the dead chief; except again it be the body of Tooitonga, [565]
and then even the greatest chief would be *taboo'd* ten [643]

634 wife did not mind it, because she was already
764 *taboo'd* from having touched the dead body of
[784] the late Tooitonga nine months before, and had
consequently got accustomed to the inconveniences
[643] of it; and Mr. Mariner did not hesitate to do this last office to his friend, because he had no superstitious fears of the consequences of not submitting to the *taboo*. The body, being washed, was brought into the house, laid on a large bale of *gnatoo*, and anointed with sandal wood oil. Toobó Nuha's widows (four in number) now came in to mourn over the dead body of their departed chief. They entered beating their breasts and faces, and screaming with all the agony and frantic agita-
[533] tions of mad women. They sat down close
[539] round the corpse, and in a most dismal strain
began singing

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634 months, as was the case with Finow's wife above mentioned. During the time a man is *taboo'd* he must not feed him-
764 self with his own hands, but must be fed by somebody else:
784 he must not even use a toothpick himself, but must guide another person's hand holding the toothpick. If he is hun-
766 gry and there is no one to feed him, he must go down upon
264 his hands and knees, and pick up his victuals with his
[565] mouth: and if he infringes upon any of these rules, it is firmly expected that he will swell up and die: and this be-
[643] lief is so strong that Mr. Mariner thinks no native ever made
[829] an experiment to prove the contrary. They often saw him feed himself with his hands after having touched dead chiefs, and not observing his health to decline, they attributed it to his being a foreigner, and being governed by different Gods.

669 whether their insides were sound and entire*, 727 and to practise surgical operations upon, hereafter to be described; and lastly, two or three 266 were cut up to be cooked and eaten, of which [766] about forty men partook. This was the second [763] instance of cannibalism that Mr. Mariner wit- [752] nessed, but the natives of these islands are not [177] to be called cannibals on this account: so far from its being a general practice, it is on the contrary generally held in abhorrence, and where it is occasionally done, it is only by young warriors, who do it in imitation of the Fiji islanders, attaching to it an idea that there is something in it designating a fierce, warlike, and manly spirit. When they returned to Neafoo after their inhuman repast, most persons who knew it, particularly women, avoided them, saying, " Iá-whé moe ky-tangata," away! you are a man-eater.

The bodies being thus all disposed of, Finow 669 began to make enquiries respecting the alleged 687 treason of Lioofau, and finding no one capable
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[784] [827] * It is a firm belief with the people that if a man infringes upon the *Taboo* (see p. 141) or commits any sacrilege, his liver or some other viscus is liable to become enlarged and schirrous: they therefore often open dead bodies out of curiosity, to see if they have been sacrilegious in their lifetime. [164] The natives of these islands are particularly subject to schirrous tumours.

aloud to the god that he would be pleased to 669
accept of this sacrifice as an atonement for the 688
heinous sacrilege committed, and that punish- 782
ment might accordingly be withheld from the
people. When this had been done before all 783
the consecrated houses in the fortress, the body
was given up to its relations, to be buried in
the usual manner.

About four or five days after the above hor- 669
rible immolation, this same Palavali was killed
in a skirmish with the enemy. He went out 726
again on a foraging excursion with about 30 or
40 men, not professed warriors, but men on
whose courage and honour no reliance could be
placed. They met with a smaller body of the
enemy, but who were all staunch fighting men;
in a very short time Palavali's men turned about
to run away; he vainly endeavoured to rally
them, and facing the enemy again to set them
the example, he received several wounds and
fell. At this moment his men also faced about,
and seeing the perilous situation of their chief,
became animated with courage, and drove the
enemy a few paces back, whilst two or three
picked him up and carried him to the fortress.
When they arrived they proceeded to take [784]
out four spears which had pierced him, but he
desired them to desist from so useless a task, [761]
as he was certain the gods had decreed his

669 death as a punishment for his late offence. This
726 too was the general opinion of the people, and
was the subject of their conversation for a long
784 time afterwards, contributing to spread a considerable
761 gloom throughout the garrison. Palavali
died about half an hour after he was
brought home.

669 Finow already began to grow tired of the
723 [728] war: it was a kind of conflict not suited to his
genius, he loved rather a few hard fought engagements
[634] and a speedy conquest. The enemy
[726] shewed no disposition to come forth from their
[712] strong hold and attack him; and he had found
by experience, that even the guns produced no
sensible effect upon their fortification, situated
upon an eminence, and defended by walls of
669 clay*. He heartily wished for a peace, but he
634 did not choose that his wish should be known,
lest it should be attributed to fear or any other
728 unworthy motive; in short, he wanted to bring
about a peace, without being thought to *wish*
for it; and the difficulty was to accomplish this,

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[727] * Mr. Mariner could easily have devised a method to set the enemy's fortress on fire; but he considered Toe Oomoo's cause quite as just as that of Finow, and although the latter was his friend and benefactor, yet he had more than half assisted in the assassination of a man of admirable character (Toobo Nuha) who was also Mr. Mariner's friend; besides, he did not choose to be the means of dealing out destruction upon a number of innocent women and children.

within is a smaller cage, in which there is the 223
hen bird, who also makes a peculiar noise, as if
in answer to the one on the outside; but be
this as it may, both cock birds and hens are
attracted towards the spot, and are shot by
the sportsman. This sport is practised by none 235
but the king and very great chiefs, for training [223]
and keeping these birds require exceeding great [565]
care as well as great expense. One man is appointed
to each pair of birds, and he has nothing
else to do but to attend to the management
of them; and, if this is not done with great
skill, they will not make the noise necessary to
attract others. So much attention, in short, [731]
is paid to these birds, that their keepers are [784]
authorised to go and demand plantains for
them, of whomsoever it may be, and howsoever
scarce may be this article of food, even if there
were a famine, and the people almost starving:
if a keeper, even on such occasions, sees a fine
bunch of plantains, he will go and *taboo* it,
which he does by sticking a reed in the tree,
and telling the proprietor that those plantains
are tabooed for the use of the birds. These 235
keepers live well, and are, in general, very insolent 685
fellows, sometimes committing very great
depredations, under frivolous pretensions of
procuring food for their birds. The sufferer [694]
sometimes makes a complaint to the king, or [693]
[681]

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224 and the men proceed till they arrive at the place appointed for them to stop at. If in [784] their way they come to any cross roads, they [565] stick a reed in the ground in the middle of such cross roads, as a *táboo* or mark of prohibition for any one to come down that way, and disturb the rats while the chiefs are shooting: and this no one will do; for even if a considerable chief be passing that way, on seeing the *táboo* he will stop at a distance, and sit down on the ground, out of respect or politeness to his fellow chiefs, and wait patiently till the shooting party has gone by: a petty chief, or one of the lower orders, would not dare to infringe upon this *táboo* at the risk of his life. The distributors of the bait being arrived at the place appointed for them to stop at, sit down to prepare cava, having previously given the orders of their chiefs to the owners of the neighbouring plantations to send a supply of refreshments, such as pork, yams, fowls, and ripe plantains.

The company of chiefs having divided themselves into two parties, set out about ten minutes after the *boóhi*, (or company that distributes the bait) and follow one another closely in a row along the middle of the road, armed with bows and arrows. It must be noticed, however, that the two parties are mixed; the greatest chief, in general, proceeding first, behind him one of the opposite party, then one of 224 the same party with the first, and behind him again one of the other party, and so on alternately. The rules of the game are these: no one may shoot a rat that is in advance of him, except he who happens to be first in the row (for their situations change, as will directly be seen); but any one may shoot a rat that is either abreast of him or behind him. As soon as a man has shot, whether he hits the rat or not, he changes his situation with the man behind him, so that it may happen that the last man, if he have not shot so often as the others, may come to be first, and vice versâ, the first come to be last: and for the same reason, two or three, or more, of the same party, may come to be immediately behind one another. Whichever party kills ten rats first, wins the game. If there be plenty of rats, they generally play three or four games. As soon as they arrive [184] at any cross roads they pull up the reeds placed as a *táboo*, that passengers coming afterwards may not be interrupted in their progress. When they have arrived at the place where the *boóhi* are waiting, they sit down and partake of what is prepared for them; afterwards, if they are disposed to pursue their diversion, they send the *boóhi* on to prepare another portion of the road: the length of road prepared at a

illness hourly increased, and feeling, as he said, 634
a secret presentiment of approaching death, his 763
female attendants ran out and informed his chiefs and matabooles, who in consequence immediately repaired to his house, and found him unable to speak; for as soon as he saw them he endeavoured in vain to give utterance to his ideas, and seemed choked by the vehemence of his inward emotions. At length a flood of tears coming to his relief, he acknowledged the justice of the gods, but lamented greatly that he was about to meet his death on a bed of sickness instead of going to brave it in the field of battle. After a little pause, he said in a calm but firm tone of voice, "I tremble at the approaching "fate of my country: for I perceive plainly, "that after my death the state of affairs will "be much altered for the worse. I have had "daily proofs that the obedience of my subjects "is not excited by their love but by their "fears."

Several chiefs and matabooles who, owing to 634
the crowd, were not able to get into the house, 763
but overheard what passed, went immediately 761
to the priest of *Toobó Totái*, and presenting 793
him cava root, sat down before him. An old 787
mataboole then addressed him, stating that 776
they had firm belief in the power which the 784
gods possessed of inflicting what punishment 565

694 they chose upon mortals: but he entreated the
763 god to use his influence with the other powers
761 of Bolotoo, that they might not take offence at
what Finow had said in the morning, which
793 was merely spoken on the impulse of the mo-
787 ment, when warmly agitated with sentiments
776 of affection for his daughter, and not from any
784 real disrespect to the gods: he supplicated him
[565] also to have regard to the general good of the
islands, and not by depriving them of Finow,
to involve the whole nation in anarchy and
[821] confusion. The priest remained some time in
silence, and was much affected: at length he announced that the gods of Bolotoo had, for a long time past, debated among themselves with regard to the punishment they should inflict upon Finow, for the many instances he had shewn of disobedience to religious precepts, and of exceeding disrespect for divine power; that they had at first resolved upon his death, but that he (Toobó Totái) having repeatedly interceded in his behalf, some of the other gods also took his part; in consequence of which there arose very violent dissensions in Bolotoo; not, as he explained to them, by actual fighting, for gods are immortal, and can neither be killed, wounded, nor hurt, but by urgent and potent arguments, which had occasioned, he said, the late high winds and tremendous thunder.

der. That they had consequently come to a 634
resolution of saving his life, seeing that his 763
death would be a greater evil to his people than 761
to himself, and of punishing him in another 793
and perhaps more severe way, viz. by the 787
death of his most dear and beloved daughter, 776
who must therefore be inevitably taken from 784
him : for as it had been decreed, beyond all revocation,
that either he or his daughter must 634
die, her life could not be saved without taking 763
away his. As a sort of proof of this decree, he 761
bade them remark that whilst Finow was at 793
this time ill, his daughter was much better, and 787
comparatively full of life and spirits, (which 776
was actually the case.) To-morrow, he said, 784
her father would be tolerably well, for the gods 593
had not decreed his immediate death, but only
a temporary illness, to impress on his mind a
sense of their power, and then his daughter
would relapse, and become as bad or worse than
ever.

The priest being now silent, the chiefs and 634
matabooles left him, with a strong belief of the 763
truths he had been telling them. When they 565
arrived at Finow's house they found him somewhat 793
better, but did not communicate what 784 593
they had heard from his priest. This however 276
was soon rumoured among the other chiefs and 203
matabooles, in the king's *cook-house*, where

634 they generally resort for cava, and which from
763 custom has become a sort of rendezvous to
565 pick up or retail news. Mr. Mariner, who had
793 been with Finow (his patron, father, and pro-
784 tector,) during his illness, coming to the *cook-*
593 *house* and hearing what the priest had said,
[276] went out of curiosity to Finow's daughter, and
[203] was surprised to find her sitting up, eating ripe
bananas, and in very good spirits, talking at intervals to her female attendants.

634 In the evening Finow, feeling himself for
593 the most part recovered, visited his daughter,
763 and found her much worse than, as he was informed, she had been in the morning. He now expressed his intention of passing the night at her house, which he accordingly did. When he awoke in the morning he felt himself perfectly recovered; but going to his daughter's mat, he found, to his utmost grief, that she was worse than ever. In the course of the morning he went down to the sea-shore, to give some orders respecting an alteration he designed in the sail of his canoe, in which he also employed himself (to distract his thoughts probably) the
634 greater part of the day. At night he again
763 slept at the house of his daughter; and very
793 early the following morning gave orders for all
787 his chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, to go on
776 board his canoes, and gave directions for his
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484

daughter also to be carried on board ; then fol- 634
lowing himself, made sail for the island of 763
Ofoo, with intention of consulting *Alái Váloo*, 799
the tutelar god of his aunt *Toe Oomoo*. They 787
arrived after two hours sail; and immediately, 776
on landing, went and presented cava root to 784
the priest of that god (the name of the priest 599
Mr. Mariner has forgotten). In the mean time [484]
the sick child was taken to the god's conse- [276]
crated house. The company being seated in [778]
the presence of the priest, a bowl of cava was
presented to him,—when the god said—" It is
" in vain that you come here to invoke me
" upon a subject on which you have obtained
" all the information that it is necessary for
" you to know. *Toobó Totái* has already in-
" structed you in the will of the gods, and I
" can communicate nothing farther." The
priest having said this, Finow and his attend-
ants rose up and went their way. In the 593
course of the afternoon the supposed victim of 634
divine vengeance was removed to several other 763
consecrated houses in the same island, and was [778]
suffered to remain about half an hour or an [155]
hour in each, with the hope that she would de-
rive benefit from the auspices of either of the
deities, who were imagined to reside in those
places. Removal, however, appeared to make
her worse; and at length she was almost

764 of respect to the departed chief; and sat on the
ground, waiting for the commencement of the
ceremonies usual on such extraordinary occasions.

634 In the mean time, the prince, and his uncle,
Finow Fiji, prepared cava at a neighbouring
668 house, and presented it there to the priest of
781 *Toobo Totai*, out of respect to that god, who
799 was now become the tutelar deity of the young
[776] prince. By the mouth of his priest the god
desired him not to fear rebellion; for who should
dare to rebel against a chief who was the peculiar
[784] care of the powers of Bolotoo? He com-
[761] manded him moreover to reflect on the circumstances
of his father's death, as a salutary lesson
[763] to himself: "Your father," said the divinity,
"is now no more;—but why did he die?—because
he was disrespectful to the gods!" The
634 conference here ended. A short time after,
661 the prince, whilst reflecting on the words of the
761 oracle, was addressed by a woman, who was sitting
behind him in waiting, and who was much
784 respected by the late king and his family, on
account of her having given him some information
respecting a real or supposed conspiracy,
on the part of the Vavaoo chiefs; (Booboono,
Cacahoo, and others, who were seized in consequence
at Macave, and afterwards put to death:
see p. 276.) This woman remarked to the prince

that his father, just before he was taken ill, had 634
sent two men to her to procure a rope, (she 661
having the care of a store-house,) with orders 761
to bring it to him secretly. These two men, 784
whose names were Toohengi and Boboto, (the former the son of Toobo Boogoo a priest, the latter a cook,) happening now to be present, the prince turned to them, and asked if they knew the purpose for which his father wanted this rope;—whom he meant to bind with it?—Hearing this question, Mr. Mariner, who was sitting close to him, exclaimed "What! " did you not know that he intended to bind " and afterwards to kill Toobo Tea, the priest " of Toobo Totai, to be revenged on this god " for not bringing about his daughter's re- " covery*?" This fact was afterwards confirmed by other persons, and particularly by certain warriors, who had actually received orders to seize Toobo Tea, and murder him. Thus was a plan of sacrilegious wickedness brought to light, which made all those who now heard it for the first time shudder at the mere thought: "No wonder!" (for such was the general ex-

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* This intention of the king had only been cautiously whispered about, among a few chiefs and matabooles, that were constantly with him; and his sudden sickness and speedy death, which prevented him putting his threats into execution, had so occupied every body's thoughts, that the circumstance for a time was forgotten.

634 661 761 784 clamation) "no wonder that he died! a chief "with such dreadful intentions!" Mr. Mariner then stated, in addition, that he had heard the king say more than once, (a few days before he died,) "How unmindful are the gods of my "welfare!—but no! it is not the decree of the "gods in general;—it is to that vexatious Toobo Totai, that I owe my misfortunes; he "does not exert himself for my good: but wait "a little, I'll be revenged! his priest shall not "live long*!"

634 661 The prince and his uncle, Finow Fiji, next held a consultation together respecting their mode of conduct, particularly in regard to certain chiefs, who were suspected of not being well disposed towards their family. Finow Fiji, for his own part, said, that he had no other wish than to coincide in whatever should seem likely to establish the peace and welfare of *Hafooloo How* (the name given to Vavaoo and all its neighbouring small islands, taken collectively), and that the only method of doing this would

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[771 776] * Finow had often stated to Mr. Mariner his doubts that there were such beings as the gods:—he thought that men were fools to believe what the priests told them. Mr. Mariner expressed his wonder that he should doubt their existence, when he acknowledged that he had more than once felt himself inspired by the spirit of *Moomóe* (a former *How* of Tonga): "True!" replied the king, "there may be gods; but what the priests tell us about their power over mankind, I believe to be all false."

tápa *, by applying it once upon each cheek 634
bone; after which, the place was rubbed with 765
the astringent berry of the *matchi*, which occasions 281
it to bleed, and with the blood they 301
smeared about the wound, in a circular form, 302
to nearly two inches in diameter, giving themselves 304
a very unseemly appearance †. They repeat 824
this friction with the berry every day,
making the wound bleed afresh: and the men,
in the mean time, neglect to shave, and to oil
themselves during the day; they do, however,
at night, for the comfort which this operation
affords. After having, in the first place, burnt
their cheeks and shaved their heads, they built
for themselves small temporary huts, for their
own accommodation during the time of mourning,
which lasts twenty days. The women, who 184
have become *tabooed* by touching the dead body,
remain constantly in the *fytoca*, except when
they want food, for which they retire to one or
other of these temporary houses, to be fed as
mentioned in the note, p. 141, but they sleep in

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[*] *Tápa* differs from *gnatoo* merely by its not being stamped or imprinted with any pattern.

[†] Those whose love for the deceased is very great, or who wish it to be thought so, instead of burning their cheeks in the way mentioned, rub off the cuticle by beating and rubbing their cheeks with platt wound round their hands, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut; and this is a most painful operation.

634 the *fytoca*. The provisions with which these
765 *tabooed* women and mourners in general are pro-
784 vided were sent, on this occasion, with bales of
gnatoo, first to the young prince, by the differ-
634 ent chiefs and matabooles; the prince then or-
765 dered the greater part of them to be sent to
784 the *tabooed* women: and they were accordingly
264 carried and placed on the ground, at some distance from the grave, or else laid down before the temporary house, to which the chief of the *tabooed* women retires to be fed; and she orders them to be distributed to the different chiefs and matabooles, who again share them out in the usual way. The fifth and tenth days of such a ceremony are, however, marked by a greater quantity of provision than ordinary being sent, for which they give no reason but that of custom. On the twentieth day there is also an unusually large quantity sent; and this is by way of finishing the funeral ceremony.
634 With these provisions they also send every day
765 a supply of *tomes*[*], to light up the *fytoca* during
[416] the night: these tomes are held by a woman,
[565] who, when fatigued with this office, is relieved
by another: those who take the light into their
[373] charge are of the lower ranks. They, as well as the others, when not oppressed by sleep, in general, spend their time in talking upon in-

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[*] The tome is a sort of torch.

121 stantly pulled his legs out straight: he then presented his musket to the other two, who appeared somewhat panic-struck, and threatened to blow out their brains if they did not instantly obey his orders, and pull towards the vessel. They accordingly put about, and made towards her. The one that Mr. Mariner wounded was a piece of a warrior, but the other two had never been in battle, and, as he supposes, did not know but what he could fire off his musket as often as he pleased without loading it: be this as it may, they were now perfectly obedient, and he encouraged them farther, by reminding them that they had a good excuse to make to their chiefs, since it was by compulsion, and not by will, that they acted. In the mean time, he kept a strict eye both upon them and the man in the bottom of the canoe; upon those, lest they should take an opportunity to upset the canoe, and swim to the shore, with which they were well acquainted, and upon this, lest he should recover and attempt the same thing, or else make an unexpected attack: fortunately he did not stir the whole night*. They did not come up with the vessel till about daylight next morning, owing to the distance they had to go,

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825 184 * It may be remarked, also, that this was the season for sharks, and their consciences, probably, were not quite clear from having infringed some prohibition or another, in consequence of which, according to their notions, they were liable to be devoured by sharks.

sidence, and after their decease to be buried there 823
in the tombs of their ancestors. This island, 643
moreover, gives name, by way of pre-eminence, 565
to all the islands taken collectively, as a capital 164
town sometimes gives name to a country; and
withal it has acquired the epithet of sacred, 103
táboo, and is thus sometimes called *Tonga táboo*,
denoting its excellence; from this circumstance
it is erroneously noted down in our charts Tongataboo;
but *táboo* is only an epithet occasionally
used. The respect which is shewn to Tooitonga, 643
and the high rank which he holds in society, 565
is wholly of a religious nature, and is far 634
superior, when occasion demands it, to that 576
which is shewn even to the king himself; for 784
this latter, as will by and by be seen, is by no
means of the most noble descent, but yields in
this respect to Tooitonga, Veachi, and several
families related to them; and if the king were
accidentally to meet any chief of nobler descent
than himself, he would have to sit down on the
ground till the other had passed him, which is
a mark of respect that a common peasant would
be obliged to shew to any chief or *Egi* whatsoever;
and for this reason the king never associates
with any chief superior to himself, and
always endeavours to avoid meeting them, and
they in like manner endeavour to avoid him,
that he might not be put to the trouble of sitting

643 down while they passed: for if any one were to
565 forego this ceremony in presence of a superior
634 *Egi*, some calamity from the gods would be expected
576 as a punishment for the omission. Sitting
784 down is with them a mark of respect, as standing
up is with us, before a superior; upon the
516 principle perhaps, that in this posture a man
576 cannot so readily attack or assassinate the person
in whose presence he is; or it may be that
in this posture lowering his height is significant
of his rank or merit being humbled in presence
of the other.

643 There are many ceremonies which characterise
the high respect and veneration shewn to
796 Tooitonga; but as in this place we are discoursing
644 of rank, not of ceremonies, the full description
of the latter must be deferred till we come to
speak of religious rites. Here we shall only
mention, in a general way, in what these ceremonies
chiefly consist.

643 1. The grand ceremony of *ináchi*, which is
performed once a year, (about the month of
796 October,) and consists in offering the first fruits
644 of the year to Tooitonga. It was supposed that
651 if this ceremony were neglected, the vengeance
[784] of the gods would fall in a signal manner upon
the people.

643 2. Peculiarity of his marriage ceremony.

796 3. Peculiarity of his burial ceremony.

644
[585]
[766]

643 and number of his fighting men. He, of course,
634 possesses the greatest power of any individual;
but, in respect to rank, as before observed, he is
643 differently circumstanced. In this last parti-
634 cular, not only Tooitonga, Veachi, and priests
565 actually inspired, are superior to him, but even
several other nobles are higher in rank, not as
to office or power, but as to blood, or descent,
for nobility consists in being related either to
Tooitonga, Veachi, or the How, and the nearer
any family is related to them, the nobler it is;
those related to Tooitonga being nobler than
those equally related to Veachi, and those
related to this latter being more noble than
[576 those equally related to the How. Hence it
[784 appears that there must be many *egies* more
noble even than the king himself, and to such
the king, meeting them, must shew the same
marks of respect as are usual from an inferior
to a superior: and if he were to touch any
thing personally belonging to the superior chief,
as himself, or his garments, or the mat on which
he sleeps, he becomes *tabooed*, as it is termed,
or under the prohibition to feed himself with his
own hands; or, if he does, it is at the risk of
becoming diseased, or suffering some other
calamity from the gods as a punishment: but
from this *taboo* he can readily free himself, by
performing the ceremony of *mbë-mbë*, which

consists in touching, with both hands, the *feet* 643
of the superior chief, or of one equal to him: 634
but more of these ceremonies in their proper 565
place. 576

Egi, or Nobles. All those persons are *egi*, 784
or nobles, or chiefs (for we have used these
terms synonymously), who are any way related 565
either to the family of Tocitonga, or Veachi, 784
or the How: and all, and nobody else but chiefs,
have the privilege of freeing people from the
taboo, under circumstances, and in the manner
related in the above paragraph. Tooitonga 565
and Veachi may easily be conceived sources of 634
nobility, on account of their supposed divine 643
original, and the How because he holds the 613
reins of government, and is invested with
power. The family of Finow, who is the present
How, say, that they descended neither from
Tooitonga nor Veachi, but are altogether a
distinct race: the fact, probably, is, that
Finow's family is a distant branch of one of the
others; but having at length ascended the
throne, it drew its rank and consequence more
from this circumstance than from such distant
relationship. The present Finow's father was [669]
the first of his family that came to the throne,
which he did by usurpation and expulsion of
the then reigning family. (Vide vol. i. p. 71).
The Hows before that time, as far back as they

888 renced on account of their age and experience, insomuch that it constitutes a branch of their first moral and religious duty, viz. to reverence the gods, the chiefs, and aged persons; and consequently there is hardly any instance in these islands of old age being wantonly insulted.

Women have considerable respect shewn to
562 them on account of their sex, independent of
the rank they might otherwise hold as nobles.
They are considered to contribute much to the
comforts and domestic happiness of the other
sex, and as they are the weaker of the two, it is
thought unmanly not to shew them attention
and kind regard; they are therefore not subjected
to hard labour or any very menial work.
562 Those that are nobles rank like the men according
565 to the superiority of their relationship. If
a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of
562 a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she
565 be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and
593 so are the children male and female; but in
576 domestic matters she submits entirely to his
arrangements; notwithstanding this, however,
she never loses the respect from her husband
due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to
perform the ceremony of *mo'ë-mo'ë* before he
[784] can feed himself. If the husband and wife are
both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of

moë-moë is dispensed with; but where there is 562
any difference the inferior must perform this 565
ceremony to be freed from the *táboo.* If a 593
woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, [576]
she always derives additional respect on [784]
that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

It is a custom in the Tonga islands for women 562
to be what they call mothers to children or 597
grown up young persons who are not their own offspring, for the purpose of providing them or seeing that they are provided with all the conveniences of life; and this is often done, although their own natural mothers be living, and residing near the spot,—no doubt for the sake of greater care and attention, or to be afterwards a substitute for the true parent, in the event of her premature death; but the original intention seems not now understood, for it happens sometimes, that a young man having both his natural mother and a wife living, will take it in his head to have an adopted mother, whom he regards the same as his natural parent. If 562
a woman is the foster mother to a person superior 597
to herself, which is mostly the case, she 554
acquires no additional respect from this source 565
in society, though the adopted person be ever

771 776 3. That there are besides several Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods, whose attribute is never to dispense good, but petty evils and troubles, not as a punishment, but indiscriminately to whomsoever it may be, from a pure mischievous disposition.

4. That all these superior beings, although they may perhaps have had a beginning, will have no end.

771 773 5. That the world also is of doubtful origin, and co-existent with the gods; the *solid* sky, the heavenly bodies, and the ocean, being pre-existent to the habitable earth, and that the Tonga islands were drawn out of the water by the god Tangaloa, whilst fishing with a line and hook.

6. That mankind, according to a partial tradition, first came from Bolotoo, the chief residence of the gods, an island to the northwestward, and resided at the Tonga islands, by command of Tangaloa: they consisted of two brothers, with their wives and attendants, whose original they pretend to know nothing about.

771 784 7. That all human evil is inflicted by the gods upon mankind, on account of some neglect of religious duty, either in the person or persons who suffer the inflictions, or in the egi or chief whom they serve; and the contrary of good.

771 islands known by the name of Tooitonga and
776 Veachi are descendants in a right line from
two chief gods, and that all respect and veneration
643 is therefore due to them.

565 12. That some persons are favoured with the
771 inspiration of the gods, by an actual existence
793 of the god for the time being, in the person
787 (the priest) so inspired, who is then capable
of prophesying.

771 13. That human merit or virtue consists chiefly
in paying respect to the gods, nobles, and
577 aged persons; in defending one's hereditary
rights; honour, justice, patriotism, friendship, meekness, modesty, fidelity of married women, parental and filial love, observance of all religious ceremonies, patience in suffering, forbearance of temper, &c.

[784] 14. That all rewards for virtue or punishments for vice happen to men in this world only, and come immediately from the gods.

771 15. That several acts acknowledged by all civilized
673 nations as crimes, are under many
circumstances considered by them as matters of indifference, such as revenge, killing a servant who has given provocation, or any body else, provided it be not a very superior chief or noble; rape, provided it be not upon a married woman, or one to whom respect is due, on the score of superior rank, from the

He is the patron of Finow's family, also the god 776
of voyages: in the first quality he is often invoked [634]
by Finow; in the second quality he is
often invoked by chiefs, going upon any maritime
expedition; also by any body in a canoe
during a voyage. He is not the god of wind, [778]
but is supposed to have great inflence with that
god; his chief power is extended to the preservation
of canoes from accidents: this god
has several houses dedicated to him, chiefly at
Vavaoo and the contiguous isles. Mr. Mariner [793]
only knew one priest belonging to him, but he,
perhaps, has several. It will be recollected, in 634
the former part of the history, at the time when
Finow's daughter was so ill, that this priest, 793
when inspired, foretold that either Finow or his 787
daughter must die, as decreed in Bolotoo: in 763
consequence, Finow, after his daughter's death, 661
was so exasperated with his god, Toobo Toty', 784
for not making arrangements among the gods
more favourable to him, that he vowed to kill
his priest: this sacrilegious intention was, however,
prevented by his own death, which happened
as a judgment on him, according to the
people's notions. Vide vol. I.[A]

Ala'i Va'loo; (*Alai*, no discoverable meaning; 776
Valoo, the number eight); a god that patronizes
the How's family, but is particularly 634
the patron god of Tóe Oomoo, the late king's
aunt. This god is now and then invoked by

[A] [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

775 they have the power of inspiring priests, and of
769 appearing in dreams and visions to their relatives
[787] and others. They have no houses dedicated
to them, but the proper places to invoke
[778] them are their graves, which are considered
sacred, and are therefore as much respected as
775 consecrated houses. Their names are the same
as they had whilst living, and they hold the
776 same rank mutually among themselves as they
[784] held during their mortal existence; and whether their deeds were good or evil during their life, is a circumstance that does not at all affect their state in Bolotoo, all punishments for crimes being supposed to be inflicted by the primitive gods upon men during their lifetime; in which inflictions the second class of gods have a proportional
[821] power with the first. As many of these souls of nobles have had strong warlike dispositions in this world, it might be supposed that they waged war against one another in Bolotoo; but this is not the case, for, in that state of existence, their understanding is much more clear than in this world, enabling them to discern what is right, and disposing them to choose it in preference to what is wrong: not but what they, and even the primitive gods, have verbal disputes, but which, from the clearness of their intellect, and the justice of their views, are supposed to be managed with divine

776 Of these there are perhaps several in number,
but only five or six are supposed to be particularly
active; and from their disposition to
plague mankind, they reside more frequently at
[171] Tonga than at Bolotoo. They are accused of
being the cause of all the petty inconveniences
and troubles of life: and at Hamóa (or the Navigator's
islands), they have an idea which is
very convenient to the reputation of the females,
that some of these *hotooa pow* molest
them in their sleep, in consequence of which
there are many supernatural conceptions: at
Tonga, however, the matter is never carried to
[793] that extent. These *hotooa pow* have no priests,
[778] have no houses dedicated to them, nor are they
[782] ever invoked. All the great misfortunes of life,
[784] as before noticed, are special inflictions from
[828] the gods for the crimes of men: whereas the
mischievous tricks played by the *hotooa pow* are
for their own whim and delight; they lead travellers
astray, trip them up, pinch them, jump
upon their backs in the dark, cause the nightmare
and frightful dreams. They are never
seen.

[823] Móooi—A god that supports the earth, the
earth lying on him, he being prostrate. This,
as may be supposed, is a very gigantic being,
greater in personal bulk than any of the others.
[787] He never inspires any body, nor ever leaves

his situation. He has no house dedicated to 776
him. When an earthquake happens, it is sup- [787]
posed that this god, feeling himself in an un-
easy posture, is endeavouring to turn himself [778]
about; and, on such occasions, the people give [823]
loud shouts and beat the ground with sticks,
which is supposed to have the effect of making
him lie still. They have no idea of what he
lies on, nor ever make any enquiries about it;
and say it would be folly to do so, for who can
go there and see? 565

Such is the account they give of their gods, 761
and the respect which they pay to these ima- [771]
ginary beings is so great and so universal, that
scarcely any instance is known of downright [784]
impiety; and indeed they have very strong mo- [753]
tives to keep them in proper order in this re- [763]
spect, founded in their firm and fixed belief, that all human miseries are the consequent punishment of crimes, and that acts of atrocity are most frequently punished by disease and death; and this risk of premature death among the tooas in particular must have a frightful aspect, as they consider the termination of life as the termination of their existence altogether. With respect to the chiefs indeed, to whom death is only a change to a better life, this apprehension may not take quite so strong a hold; nevertheless, life is always sweet, there are al-

773 time turned into a turtle, and was the origin
825 and source of all the turtle now found in the
world.

This story obtains almost universal credit at
262 the Tonga islands; in consequence, turtles are
784 considered as almost a prohibited food, at least
[753] very few will venture to eat them without first
offering a portion to some god, or sending some
to any chief that may be at hand: and there
are many that will not eat turtle on any account, being fearful of its producing enlarged
livers, or some such visceral complaint. It is
not supposed, however, to be so likely to have
a bad effect upon great chiefs, as they approach
so near in rank and character to the gods
themselves.

Such are their principal notions respecting
773 the origin of things. As to the first formation
of the solid sky (as they deem it), or the island
of Bolotoo, or the gods themselves, they pretend to form no idea, and never think of agitating the question, whether they are eternal,
or whether they had a beginning, deeming all
such speculations as vain and fruitless; for
who, say they, can remember, or who has been
[538] there to see? They have no legends or tales
[171] that seem to resemble those of the Society
islands, as related by Captain Cook.

823 Respecting the earth, their notion is, that it

sometimes to the external eye in the form of a 775
ghost or apparition: but this power of re-appearance 565
at Tonga particularly belongs to the
souls of chiefs, rather than of matabooles. It was 775
thought that Finow the first was occasionally
visited by a deceased son of his, not visibly, but 634
announcing his presence by whistling. Mr. 727
Mariner once heard this whistling, as he was
with the king and some chiefs in a house at
night lying on their mats: it was dark, and
the sound appeared to come from the loft of
the house. Mr. Mariner thinks this to have
been some trick of Finow's. The natives believed
it to be a spirit. It is to be observed [198]
that they consider it *taboo* to whistle, as being [784]
disrespectful to the gods. It has already been
stated, that the gods are believed sometimes to 776
enter into the bodies of lizards, porpoises and 775
water snakes; but this power belongs only to
the original gods, not to the souls of chiefs.

There is no future place of existence for the 775
souls of men but Bolotoo, and, consequently, 784
no state of future punishment; all rewards for
virtue, and punishments for vice, being inflicted
on mankind in this world, as before noticed.
When Mr. Mariner acquainted some of [727]
them with the Christian doctrine of eternal punishment, [829]
they said that it was "very bad indeed
for the Papalangies."

as far as Mr. Mariner has seen and heard, has 643
never been the case; and it seems strange that 565
the favour of divine inspiration should be par- [787]
ticularly bestowed upon men seldom higher in rank than matabooles: such, however, is the case, and, to reconcile it with propriety, we may suppose that Tooitonga and Veachi are supposed to be of too high a rank to be the mere servants of the gods, and mere instruments of communication between them and mankind, but rather as the highest and most worthy of mankind, and next to the gods in rank and dignity. These [178]
two persons, however high in rank, have very little comparative power, though it is suspected that, formerly, when the Tonga people were a peaceable nation, and more attention was paid to religious rites and institutions, that they had a vast deal more influence than they have had of late years. They now very seldom meddle 643
with political matters, though Mr. Mariner once 634
witnessed an instance where Tooitonga ventured 669
to advise Finow (the late king) respecting his [203]
warlike proceedings against Vavaoo, at the time when his aunt, Toe Oomoo, revolted; for this purpose he went into the house on a *malái*, and sent a messenger to the king to say that he was there; which is a polite mode of telling a person you want him to come, that you may speak to him. He did not go to the king's house in [565]
[784]

643 person to communicate what he had to say,
634 because, being the superior chief, every thing
would have been *tabooed* that he happened to
669 touch. When the king arrived, Tooitonga
[565 mildly addressed him on the subject of his
784] aunt's revolt, and advised that he should endeavour
to accommodate matters rather than
involve the country in war: to which the king
shortly replied, "My lord Tooitonga* may return
"to his own part of the island, and content
"himself in peace and security; matters of
"war are my concern, and in which he has no
643 "right to interfere." He then left him. Thus,
in all respects, we are to regard Tooitonga as a
divine chief of the highest rank, but having no
power or authority in affairs belonging to the
565 king. It is presumed, however, that when the
178 Tonga islands were in a state of peace, that is,
before the people had acquired their warlike
habits, that Tooitonga, as well as Veachi, had
some influence even in matters of civil government,
that their advice was often asked, and

[192, 195] * *Ho Egi Tooitonga* means, literally, "thy lord Tooitonga," in which the possessive pronoun *thy*, or *your*, is used instead of *my*: or, if the word *egi* be translated lordship, or chiefship, the term of address will be more consistent and similar to ours, *your lordship, your grace, your majesty*. The title, *ho egi*, is never used but in addressing a superior chief, or speaking of a god; or in a public speech. *Ho Egi!* also means chiefs, as in the commencement of the speech of Finow the second on coming into power.

sidered it all concentrated in their chief god. 776
They firmly believe that the gods approve of 778
virtue, and are displeased with vice; that every 775
man has his tutelar deity, who will protect him
as long as he conducts himself as he ought to 784
do; but, if he does not, will leave him to the 753
approaches of misfortune, disease, and death. 761
And here we find some ground on which to 577
establish a virtuous line of conduct: but this is not sufficient: there is implanted in the human breast a knowledge or sentiment which enables us sometimes, if not always, to distinguish between the beauty of disinterestedness and the foul ugliness of what is low, sordid, and selfish; and the effect of this sentiment is one of the strongest marks of character in the natives of these islands. Many of the chiefs, on being asked by Mr. Mariner what motives they had for conducting themselves with propriety, besides the fear of misfortunes in this life, replied, the agreeable and happy feeling which a man experiences within himself when he does any good action, or conducts himself nobly and generously, as a man ought to do: and this question they answered as if they wondered such a question should be asked. After this, we cannot but suppose (unless we are led by prejudice), that the seeds of very great virtues are implanted in their breasts; and it would be very unrea-

771 mark of such sentiments is shewn to the gods,
to chiefs, and aged persons. Actual impiety is
888 little known among them: Finow (the late
565 king) was, indeed, an impious character in
771 many respects, but we have already seen how
much the people wondered at his success. The
634 same king was one day prevented from going
827 out upon an expedition against the enemy, by
787 one of his chiefs happening to sneeze, which is
considered a bad omen. Finow, on a sudden,
greatly exasperated, with raised arms, and
clenched fists, exclaimed, in a loud voice,
" Crowd, all ye gods, to the protection of these
" people, nevertheless I will wreak my vengeance
" on them tenfold!" But this impious
exclamation was heard with horror by every
576 body. There is no necessity to dwell upon the
565 respect that is universally paid to chiefs, for it
forms the stable basis of their government;
784 and, of course, cannot be allowed to be infringed
upon: it is, in short, a superior sacred
duty, the non-fulfilment of which it is supposed
the gods would punish almost as severely as
888 disrespect to themselves. The great veneration
577 which they pay to aged persons is a very amiable
trait in their character; and, though it is now
kept up by old habit and custom, it must, no
doubt, have arisen in the beginning from notions
which would do honour to the most civilized

be revengeful. In the mean while, we ought 577
not to exculpate from all fault the men who 703
obeyed their chief on the above occasion: they [1811]
were guilty not because they obeyed, but because they obeyed with willingness, in hope of
obtaining what to them were riches. In respect 175
to the intended assassination of Captain Cook, 721
every native of Tonga would have considered
it, if it had taken place, a very base act, for 577
which probably the gods would have punished
them. Toobo Nuha's assassination of Toogoo 669
Ahoo was esteemed rather a virtue than a 577
crime; but Toobo Toa's assassination of Toobo 661
Nuha was held a very atrocious act, offensive to
the gods. An old mataboole used to say, that 682
useless and unprovoked murder was highly of- 784
fensive to the gods; and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who either lived
unhappily, or came to an untimely end.

Theft is considered by them an act of mean- 685
ness rather than a crime; and although some of 673
the chiefs themselves have been known to be
guilty of it on board ships, it is nevertheless not
approved of. Their excuse is the strength of
the temptation: the chiefs that would do it are,
however, few.

From the above considerations, we are dis- 577
posed to say, that the notions of the Tonga
people, in respect to honour and justice, as we

CHAPTER XX.

000 Preliminary observations—Cava root: ceremony of preparing the infusion, and order of serving it out, either as a chief, a priest, or a god may preside—The ceremony of *Inâchi*; of *Fuccaláhi*; of *Cava fucca égi*; of *Tow-tow*; of *Nawgía*; of *Tootoonima*; of *Boótoo* and its minor ceremonies, viz. *Fála*, *Toótoo*, *Láfa*, *Toógi*, *Fóa Oóloo*; with a quotation from Leviticus; of *Langi*, and the very singular mode of shewing respect to the remains of *Tooitónga*;—of *Táboo* and the ceremonies of *móë-móë* and *fóta* of *Toógoo cava*; of *Lótoo*—Omens—Charms.

784 [128] As attention to religious ceremonies forms an important feature in the character of the Tonga people, and as they consider that any neglect in this respect would amount to a crime, which the gods would punish with the most severe temporal inflictions, it becomes necessary to give a particular account of them. The punishments which they consider themselves liable to for disrespect to the gods and neglect of religious rites are chiefly conspiracies, wars, famine, and epidemic diseases, as public calamities; and sickness and premature death, as punishments for the offences of individuals: and these evils, whenever they happen, are supposed to proceed imme-

diately from the gods, as visitations for their crimes. 784

There is no public religious rite whatsoever, 276
and scarcely any in private, but of which the 574
ceremony of drinking cava forms a usual and
often a most important part; for which reason, 128
although cava is taken on other occasions several times daily, we shall endeavour to give a full description of its preparation and form of distribution, before we proceed to those ceremonies which are more strictly religious.

The root which they term cáva, and by 276
which name the plant producing it is also [192]
called, belongs to a species of the pepper plant: [197]
it is known by the same name at the Fiji islands; but at the Navigator's islands, (which the Tonga people also visit), at the Society islands, and the Sandwich islands, it is universally called *ava*. At all these places it is used for the same [191]
or similar purposes.

The state in which it is taken is that of infu- 276
sion: it is drunk every day by chiefs, mata- 574
booles, and others, as a luxury: the form of [565]
preparing and serving it out is the same, whether at a large party or a small one: the greatest order is observed during the whole time, and the rank of persons is particularly attended to. The following description we shall suppose to be of some grand occasion, either religious or

651 (chiefs, matabooles, &c.) are at the expense of
796 it; yet as there is much more provided than
574 what is eaten, it helps to increase the scarcity
if the season should not be abundant: but it is
so much the custom at Tonga to make liberal
and profuse presents, that the people generally
either feast or starve. Sometimes it happens
that several great feasts are given nearly about
the same time; as for instance, the occasion of
the Inachi; the arrival of some chief from a
distant island, after a long absence; the marriage or death of some great chief, as of Tooi-
[261] tonga himself, &c. These feasts threaten a
[784] scarcity; to prevent which, a *ta'boo* or prohibition is put upon several kinds of food, that they
may not be eaten for a certain length of time,
at the termination of which they perform the
following ceremony, which takes off the *taboo*:
a famine or war may also occasion a necessity
for this *ta'boo* to be imposed.

796 Fuccalahi, i. e. to make all at large or free
again; or to take off a restriction. As the mode
796 of performing this ceremony has already been
276 described, (see Vol. I. p. 120.) and the particular objects of it mentioned, (p. 113, same
vol.) nothing farther need now be said upon
the subject, except that it is generally concluded
[574] with a cava party.

[793] Cava Fucca egi: this consists in a cava
[787]

766 (i. e. the last), a few months before he came
768 away. The first of these two, however, had no
178 chief wife, i. e. he had no wife at all, or else
none that was of so high a rank as to take the
charge of his household, and be the mistress
over the others; consequently at his death no
766 such ceremony was performed. The last Tooi-
768 tonga's wife (the daughter of the late king, and
178 sister of the present) was not subjected to this
inhuman rite—thanks to the good sense of the
634 late and present king. When old Finow was
living, he used to say, that if Tooitonga died
before his wife, she should not be strangled:
" What," said he, " is the use of destroying a
" young and beautiful woman? Who is there
" dares say that the gods are merciless and
" cruel? My daughter shall not be strangled!"
[643] Tooitonga did not die till the present king
came into power, and we have already seen
that he not only did not allow his sister to
be strangled, but he also did not permit another
● [784] Tooitonga to succeed. In consequence, it was
whispered about, that some great misfortune
768 would happen to the country. At the Fiji
171 islands, the principal wife of every chief, or at
least of every considerable chief, undergoes this
ceremony on the death of her husband. (See
Vol. I. p. 330.)

782 Tootoo-nima, or cutting off a portion of the
755
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leaves of the *ifi* tree round the neck: but for 766
Tooitonga the time of mourning is extended to 765
four months; the mats being generally left off at the end of nearly three, whilst the leaves are still retained for another month. The *táboo*, [184]
for touching his body, or any thing that he had on when he died, extends to at least ten months, and for his nearest relations fifteen months. (See Vol. I. p. 141.) Every man [332]
neglects to shave his beard for at least one month; and during that time merely oils his body at night, but not his head. The female mourners remain within the *fytoca* about two months, night and day, only retiring occasionally to the neighbouring temporary houses, to eat, &c. It will be seen, that what we have 766
already related of these ceremonies differs in many respects, some in kind, and all in degree, from those attending the burial of the king: but those we are about to describe are altogether peculiar to Tooitonga's funeral.

In the afternoon of the day of burial, the 766
body being already in the *fytoca*, almost every 765
man, woman, and child, provided with a *tómë*[*], [416]
and a piece of *boláta*[†], sit down at about eighty

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[*] A certain part of the cocoa-nut tree, of which torches are made.

[†] Part of the stem of the banana or plantain tree, used to receive the ashes falling from lighted torches.

766 cred ground in which he was buried should re-
765 main polluted.

[514] For one month, from the day of burial,
greater or less quantities of provisions are
766 brought every day, and shared out to the peo-
765 ple. On the first day a prodigious quantity is
261 supplied; but on every succeeding day a less
quantity, gradually decreasing till the last;
when, comparatively, a very small portion is
● [784] brought. The expenditure, and we may say
waste of provisions, is, however, so great, as to
require a *táboo* to be laid on certain kinds of
provisions, (see Vol. I. p. 112), which lasts
about eight or ten months; and at the end of
that time the ceremony of *fuccalahi* is performed
to remove it.

784 Ta'boo.—This word has various shades of
signification: it means sacred or consecrated
to a god, having the same signification as *fucca
égi:* it means prohibited or forbidden, and is ap-
plied not only to the thing prohibited, but to
the prohibition itself, and frequently (when it
is in sacred matters), to the person who breaks
784 the prohibition. Thus if a piece of ground or
778 a house be consecrated to a god, by express
declaration, or the burial of a great chief, it is
said to be *táboo*; the like if a canoe be conse-
crated, which is frequently done, that it may
be more safe in long voyages, &c. As it is

As it is
forbidden to quarrel or fight upon consecrated 784
ground, so fighting in such a place would be 778
said to be *táboo*, and those that fought would 578
be said also to be *táboo*; and a man who is thus 782
táboo would have to make some sacrifice to the 783
gods as an atonement for the sacrilege, as in-
stanced in Palavali's case. (See Vol. I. p. 216.)
If a man be guilty of theft, or any crime what- 784
soever, he is said to have broken the *táboo*; and 685
as all such persons are particularly supposed 825
liable to be bitten by sharks, an awkward mode 695
of discovering a thief is founded upon this no-
tion, by making all the suspected persons go
into the water, where sharks frequent, and he
who is bitten or devoured is looked upon as
the guilty person. If any one touches a supe- 784
rior chief, or superior relation, or any thing [576]
immediately belonging to him, he *táboos* him-
self; but this is not supposed to produce any
bad consequence, unless he feeds himself with
his own hands, without first removing this
táboo, which is to be done by performing the
ceremony of *möë-möë*, directly to be explained.
If a person touches the body of a dead chief, [761]
or any thing personally belonging to him, he
becomes *taboo*, and time alone can relieve him.
(See note, Vol. I. p. 141.) Certain kinds of [262]
food, as turtle, and a certain species of fish,
from something in their nature, are said to be

784 *táboo*, and must not be eaten until a small por-
tion be first given to the gods. Any other kind
262 of food may be rendered *táboo* by a prohibition
being laid on it. Fruits and flowers when tá-
booed are generally marked to be so, by pieces
of white *tapa*, or a piece of plait, in the shape
784 of a lizard or shark*. To prevent certain kinds
796 of food from growing scarce, a prohibition or
táboo is set on them for a time, as after the
[262] *ináchi*, or other great and repeated ceremonies;
[651] and which *táboo* is afterwards removed by the
ceremony called *fúccaláhi*; but this latter term
is not only applied to the ceremony which re-
moves the prohibition, but is equally used to
express the duration of the *táboo* itself, and which
therefore is often called the time of the *fúcca-
la'hi*. During certain ceremonies, as that of the
inàchi and the *fala* (see Vol. I. p. 390), nobody
may appear abroad, or at least in sight, it being
tabooed to do so.

784 Any thing that is not tabooed is said to be
[192] *gnofoba* (i. e. easy, or at liberty), and is a term
used in contradistinction to *táboo*.

[565] When a person is tabooed, by touching a
[788] superior chief or relation, or any thing person-
ally belonging to him, he will perform the cere-

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[609] * Nevertheless they would not refuse to pluck and eat if Mr. Mariner, or any foreigner not influenced by such superstition, would first remove this external sign of the *táboo*.

mony of *mbë-mbë*, before he will dare feed himself 784
with his own hands. This ceremony consists 565
in touching the soles of any superior chief's 788
feet with the hands, first applying the palm,
then the back of each hand; after which the
hands must be rinsed in a little water, or, if
there be no water near, they may be rubbed
with any part of the stem of the plantain or banana
tree, the moisture of which will do instead
of washing. He may then feed himself without [264]
danger of any disease, which would otherwise [753]
happen, as they think, from eating with tabooed
hands: but if any one think he may have already
(unknowingly) eaten with tabooed hands, he
then sits down before a chief, and taking the
foot of the latter, presses the sole of it against
his own abdomen, that the food which is within
him may do him no injury, and that consequently
he may not swell up and die: this operation
is called *fota*, (i. e. to press.) It is tabooed 784
also to eat when a superior relation is present, 264
unless the back is turned towards him: for 565
when a person's back is turned towards another, 516
that other may be said, in one sense, not to be
in his presence: also to eat food which a superior
relation or chief has touched; and if
either of these *taboos* is accidentally infringed
upon, the ceremony of *fota* must be performed.
If any one is tabooed by touching the person 784
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778

784 or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other
643 chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no
415 chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the
778 inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging
to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead
of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga
always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which
dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.
784 Véachi usually adopted a similar plan. Cava,
276 either the root or the infusion, cannot be tabooed by the touch of any chief of what rank
soever; so that a common *tooa* may chew cava
which even Tooitonga has touched.

Toogoo Ca'va. This ceremony consists in
796 merely leaving a small piece of cava root before
782 a consecrated house or grave, out of respect to
276 a god, or to the departed spirit of a chief or relation, at the same time the ceremony of *toogi*
788 or beating the cheeks is performed, as related
(Vol. I. p. 89.) The *toogi*, which is performed
at burials, is of a more serious nature.

Lotoo is the term used for praying; but it
782 is more commonly applied to prayers offered up
in the fields to all the gods, but particularly to
Alo Alo, petitioning for a good harvest. It
will be also recollected, that prayers are offered
up before consecrated houses and graves.

787 As omens, to which they give a considerable

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 173 644 [784] ha niihi kehe, koe mea pe ae eva mo hono kau tangata."

539 784 825 Kuo maumau ae ngahi lao koia pea oku ikai kei siga ae atu he kuo feinga ae houeiki niihi ke fakasio ki ai, pea ke hange ko ha mea fakakolo ae toongapo a sii Hina ki siono so oona pe. Kae kehe koe toongapo hono hingoa aia koe pehe koe "toonga-oe-po" pea koe mea oku fai fakalilolilo pe oua e uiaki fano i hala. Nae faifai pea hulu ae atu pea tau aki e he kakai hange ha tau moli. Ko hono uhinga ia oe lea "Tauakiatu." Koe liuaki ae atu koe mea malohi tokua pea ko Tupou I.
539 173 koe eiki ngu lahi pea ne faa hohaa i he lau ki he malohi oe atu i Haano i he tau e taha, pea ne mea hifo ki tahi ke sivi ae malohi oe louaki oe atu. Koe kemo kuo ne mei au ki he Hakautuaniu aia koe lua oku tuu mamao mo uta: pea toki alu ha vaka o omi.

what he catches. It is very tapu for the chiefs of Haano to come to see the bonito, because it is a fish given in remembrance, and no one has anything to do with it, except the wooer and his own men."

The laws are all broken and now the bonito catch is poor as the chiefs want to look at it, and to make a town affair of the gift which Hina gave as a remembrance to her own lover. Anyway its name is *toongapo,* which is to say "toonga-oe-po" (ceremony-of-the-night), and it is ordained that it is not to be talked about in the road. This is done lest the bonitos come in such numbers that they would be dried like oranges. That is the connotation of the word *tauakiatu* (the war with bonitos). The return of the bonitos is very strong and it is said that Tupou I. a chief of great might was restless when the strength of the bonitos at Haano was talked about one year, so he went down to the sea to test the power of the return rush of the bonito. In a minute he nearly reached the reef called Reef-ribs-of-coconut-leaves, which stands far from land; a vessel had to go out and bring him back.

NGANATATAFU BRINGS THE BONITO TO HAANO[46]

(A Variant)

539 173 643 In Samoa, in the distant past, lived a village virgin, named Hina, of surpassing beauty. So great was her beauty that it was even spoken of in Tonga. The Tui Tonga heard of her beauty and he determined to go to Samoa and bring her back to Tonga as one of his wives.

The Tui Tonga started from Tongatabu, but on the way put in at Haano. There he took on board his boat a chief called Nganatatafu and his two *matapules* or attendants. On their arrival at the village where the virgin Hina lived, the Tui Tonga ordered Nganatatafu to remain on board and on no account to go ashore without his permission. As Nganatatafu was the handsomest man in all Tonga, the Tui Tonga feared that if he went ashore Hina would prefer him.

So the Tui Tonga and his attendants went up into the village and were welcomed by the Samoans, who made much of them, bringing them kava to drink and catching bonitos for them to eat. At that time the bonito was unknown in Tonga.

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[46] Recorded by W. H. Murley, of Pangai, Lifuka Island, Haapai.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 kiai, koe lahi o Tui Tofua. Pea nae fakataha ae kakai o Haapai o tofa ae hala sika ke fai ai enau faiva.

Pea fai enau sika i he aho e taha pea ai fakamuimui mai ae sika a Tui Tofua, pea nae hau ae sika o tuu i he ato oe fale o ene tamai (Vakafuhu); pea nae lele kiai ae kau sinifu a ene tamai o tautaufa ao ae sika. Pea nae loto kovi a ene tamai kia Tui Tofua o ne mahalo kuo ne fai ha mea kovi mo ene kau sinifu, pea nae oho atu kiai moe akau ke tamate hono foha. Pea nae fakaha mai e hono foha oku ne ataata, pea ikai tuku ae ita a Vakafuhu kiate ia. Pea koia nae fakaha mai e hono foha te ne folau mo ene kakai. Pea naa nau folau.

Pea hokoki he loto moana, pea fakaha age e Tui Tofua kihe ene kakai ke nau hopohopo taha ki tahi, pea nau fai, pea nau hoko kotoape koe fanga anga; pea toki hopo a Tui Tofua fakamuimui pea hoko ia koe fuu tenifa. Ka koe tangata Haamoa ko Faia nae ikai fie hopo ia, pea foki ia ki uta i he vaka o fakaha ae ngaahi mea kuo hoko. [776] [784] Pea talu mei ai moe otua aki e he kakai oe otu motu koia a Tui Tofua, pea nau tapu kai anga, he ko honau kainga kuo tupu fakaanga. Oku pehe ae taanga motua kiai:

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533 Nofonofo Tui Tofua koe mama,
Momoi ki Olotele o malanga.
Liu mei ai o tofa e hala
O kotofa e sika katoanga
O pa i Lekeleka o malata.

Pea pa pa enau sika;
Fakamuimui Tui Tofua.
To leva e sika ki lotoa,
Feohofi e sinifu fonua;

Ita mai Langitaetaea:
"Ke li ki tuaa e sika."

"Mo hoota pe mate i he ma
Naa hau anai e tangata."
Toka Vakafuhu he oku kona,
Tuu hake moe tui koe ta,
Koe loto kovi ki hono foha;
"Tui koe kihe tala uhuaki,
Kau alu naa ta feiloaki."

to Tofua, and assembled all the people of Tofua and the surrounding islands, because Tui Tofua was great. The people of Haapai assembled and made a road to play their game *sika* (a game played with sticks).

One day they were playing *sika* and Tui Tofua's turn came last, and his *sika* stick flew and stood on the roof of his father's house; and the wives of his father ran to it and scrambled for it. This made Tui Tofua's father angry, and suspicious that his wives had been doing wrong. So he rushed with a club to kill his son. His son told him that he was quite innocent, but Vakafuhu was not appeased. His son then told him that he and his people would sail away. And Tui Tofua and his people did sail away.

When they reached mid-ocean, Tui Tofua told his followers to jump one by one into the sea, which they did, and they all turned into sharks. Tui Tofua jumped last and turned into a great man-eating shark. But the Samoan called Faia did not want to jump, and so he returned on the vessel to shore and told all that had happened. Since then in these islands Tui Tofua has been worshipped as a god, and the shark is sacred and not to be eaten, because their people were transformed into sharks. The following is an old song (*taanga*) about it:

Dwelt Tui Tofua on earth,
Sent to Olotele [as] an ambassador.
Returned from there and made a road
And arranged a *sika* entertainment
And shot at Lekeleka and ricocheted.

And shot and shot their *sika* sticks;
Came last the turn of Tui Tofua.
Fell the *sika* stick into the enclosure
Scrambled his (father's) concubines for it;
Angry was his mother Langitaetaea:
"Throw the *sika* stick over the fence."

"I will die of shame
Lest come a man presently."
Vakafuhu asleep because drunk,
Rose up with club to strike,
Suspicious-minded toward his son;
"Believe you the early morning teller,
Then I will go lest we have a quarrel."

goes to the island beyond the sky." This is confirmed by other writers (28, 775
38, 40), although other ideas of the road to Pulotu are no less unmistakably
found. Sir James Frazer has summed up the published accounts of
burial and mourning ceremonial (20, vol. 2, pp. 84-147.) It is said that [565]
common people were regarded as having no souls; but there seems to be a [774]
difficulty, at any rate among present-day Tongans, in deciding just at what
point of social elevation a man might hope to be eligible for the joys of
Pulotu, and possibly many a man whom his superiors regarded as hopelessly
disqualified nourished a secret hope that he might, after all, inherit the
pleasures and consequence that were denied him amongst mortals.

When a person has died, and is still lying in the house where he died, 764
only those who are *fahu* to him can go into the part of the house which is
about the dead man's head, or can do anything to the upper part of the 767
body. Practical difficulties in preparing the body, should any arise, may be 602
overcome by a *fahu* summoning whom he will to help. The bidding of the
fahu nulifies the tapu. Foreigners are exempt from tapu binding on 764
natives. In especial the persons who attend the bodies of the dead are the 767
haa tufunga, certain *matapule* whose hereditary duty and privilege this is. 602
Tradition makes it clear that this right has been given from one family to 784
another. For a high chief, all who come near the body will be *haa tufunga.*
There are considerable emoluments attached to this rank, or duty, as the [609]
haa tufunga take all the mats which have touched the body and are not 767
buried with it. In practical application there seems to be considerable
modification of rules, and eligibility to perform certain functions is not
always clearly defined, especially in the case of people of humble social rank.

For some time after the *haa tufunga* have performed their duties about
the body of a high chief people are rather shy of them. If they drank
from a cup in a house they would take it away with them. A chiefly girl
has told me that she noticed at the obsequies of a late head of her own
house that the *haa tufunga* all took their own cups with them to avoid embarrassment.
I have never seen the *nimatapu* (the hands of a person who [784]
has lately touched the dead rendered tapu so that he cannot feed himself)
and I am doubtful if many, even of living Tongans, can have seen it; but
I have heard of one European who has seen it in comparatively recent years.

The children and brothers of a dead man may not approach the body, 763
but his grandchildren may. He is of superior social rank to his children, 593
but not to his grandchildren. 603

Ordinarily the women are busy about the dead. Women wail, more or
less constantly, from the time the death occurs till the body is removed 763
from the house. Men do not stay in the house where the body is lying. At 562
some time after the burial a woman who is *fahu* to the deceased sprinkles
water in the house where he died, and all tapu is thus removed from it. 764

539 For 'tis a land of women's talk.
Ah indeed, I am grieved in secret;
644 Take thought what we shall do,
276 We are weary of fear,
Rejoicing in the king we have got;
687 I am but punished.
Pluck down Alotolu,
And Toloa and Humu.
Awake wind from Tufuhu,
Breathe gently all winds,
Sing wind of the north,
The south wind, and wind below Kalau,
And gleam the town that thunders for
war;
The sea moans on Teuhie and Kaloafu.
The Kailakulaku has put out
That they may shatter regiments,
That without rival he be king,
And that we live under his justice.
Ia ahi a, but he is good,
A chief of exceeding kindness;
His dear beauty and brightness
In the cave, the hollow in Tukitou.
False reliance is voyaging [with him],
And the correctness of a maimed hand.
Let none speak to me,
Forbidden the murmur, taken to Toku.
My love to the King,
Let be, farewell Tongatabu.
A-he, voyaging [together] will be broken
down.

RHYMES FOR GAMES

Hiko

524 A favorite game of the Tongan girls (*hiko*), consists in juggling oranges.
The girls become remarkably expert, and it is no uncommon thing to see
five or six oranges kept in the air. The players sit in a little ring, and
[538] as one breaks down she passes the oranges on to her neighbor. The games
are scored by means of these rhymes, and doubtless others, which are almost
as unintelligible to the Tongan as the *eeny, deeny, diny, do* of English chil-
[539] dren is to them. Interesting words, however, are preserved, for example,
Savaiki in the eighth line of the first rhyme.

524 The game *hiko* was under the special patronage of the god Fehuluni, of
whose origin Gifford gives an account (22, pp. 153-155). It was tapu to
776 play *hiko* at night. If the tapu were disregarded Fehuluni would be angry,
[784] and come and take the offender's eyes, and play *hiko* with them. Fehuluni
is said to have visited mortal men and women, in the guise of a beautiful
776 woman or of a handsome man. Men who embraced Fehuluni in female
787 shape became sick, and some died; while women who became pregnant to
the male Fehuluni were unable to bring forth. Sometimes, but not always,
[755] remedies were of avail. inducing a bleeding which was followed by restored
health. Fehuluni is said also to have appeared with the face veiled by the
top of the head, which seems inconsistent with the beauty attributed to him,
539 though it is admitted that his appearance was not always beautiful. Each
524 of these rhymes marks an *ulu* (game). To go right through the piece
marks one *ulu*. The players agree beforehand how many *ulu* there are to
be in the match. If, as between two players, one breaks down at some point
within the *ulu*, and then her opponent also breaks down; the first player is
allowed to continue at the point at which she erred, and if she completes
the *ulu* her opponent must start at the beginning, and is beaten unless she
goes right through at this second attempt.

14. It is tapu for a boat to pass to windward of another boat on which there is a 539
greater chief. So Falepapalangi says to his rival that he desires to vaunt himself the [565]
greater man of the two. [784]

15. The ending seems abrupt, and possibly there are lines missing. [505]

Page 72. Falepapalangi

1. A woman freshly adorned from her toilet. Mother and new-born are also [302]
smeared with turmeric.

2. The opening of the turban allows the fragrance of the oil with which the head [846]
is anointed to escape. [302]

3. "Chatter without going a voyage" is equivalent to "Talking about what you have never been to see, so little of a sailor that you would be sick in a pond."

4. This is sarcasm directed at the rival. "We hear the sounds of pleasure and think that the Vavau bard is amusing his fellow countrymen; but no, it turns out to be only the murmuring of the wind in the toa trees."

5. The situation of Fekitetele has evidently been long unknown. There is a fragment of a poem which refers to it as a name only whose position is unknown.

Fekite-tele te mau tala	Fekite-tele we shall tell
Koe'uhi pe hono hingoa	Only because of its name
Ka kuo 'ikai hono tu'unga.	But it has no position.

6. The homeless Vavauan is the rival, who is living in Tongatabu but has no real standing or home there. It is only by an act of grace that the chiefs of Tongatabu allow him to live with them.

Pages 72-73. A poem of Falepapalangi to Mamaeaepoto

1. Those who sail to Tongatabu, namely, the people of Haapai and Vavau.

2. Gift, the *inasi*, which was a ceremonious, religious offering of the first-fruits [651]
to the Tui Tonga, a harvest festival, was also used of the portions into which
presentations of food, mats, and the like, are divided. Probably the reference is not to [796]
the religious festival, but to the portion of a chief in any ceremony.

3. Houmahaaloau and Anamanu, both in Vavau.

4. A gesture of giving up; renouncing; having no more to do with.

5. Falalatokelau is unidentified but probably is in Vavau, and apparently the meaning of the reference is that Mamaeaepoto has given up singing the praises of Vavau.

6. Toa and *feifai* are trees used in the toilet.

7. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupolu. Later on in the poem words are 539
used which would make it seem as though the Tui Tonga was the king referred to.
At the death of the last Tui Tonga in 1865 these words were formally transferred to 643
the then Tui Kanokupolu, and have continued in his house, that of the reigning family.
Even if this piece was composed before that transference, it is possible that courtesy [644]
might have allowed of the Tui Kanokupolu's being addressed in the highest terms.
Probably it is best not to press the matter too closely but merely to say the king. 539

8. Mat (*ngafingafi*) is the ordinary cincture of respect in the presence of chiefs. [291]
The *fatai*, a creeping plant, seems to have been regarded as especially appropriate to
men who had just come from the sea. Evidently the meaning here is that the king [576]
told Falepapalangi to dress himself in readiness to perform before him.

9. Falepapalangi represents himself as sitting on the deck of the windward canoe [824]
and hearing, perhaps from the deck of the larger canoe, the songs and conversation, and finds that he himself, or his poem, is being criticized, presumably in a composition of Mamaeaepoto.

10. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeaepoto would better compose a poem about Kafoa and leave him alone.

11. The gull (*tala*) is the poet himself, ranging for subjects, and lighting on some beautiful headland.

12. The simile, a beach where boats put in from all quarters, denotes that he is a meeting-place of many excellences, or a poet to whom many people resort, or a poet to whom many subjects furnish inspiration.

13. The meaning of this last part of the poem "I don't care what you do with my poetry; take it anywhere, to Akana (in Samoa, Aana), Tamatuitala (unidentified

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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14. Taka i fonua mahu: Going about or living in a fruitful land. 539

This indicates the general prosperity and comfort of a people when crops are good and none suffers want. 181

15. Tatau pe tua mo palai: The *tua* just like the *palai.* 539

The *tua* and the *palai* are two sorts of yam, of which the *tua* is much the finer. That which is excellent leaves its proper excellence, becoming the mere equal of things of no account; the chief descending to be no better than the commoner. 244 554

16. Toukai mo hono lohu: A crop of fruit and its *lohu.* 539

The crop referred to is the breadfruit. The *lohu* is the forked stick used for picking the breadfruit. When the breadfruit is ripe a man may find that the stick that he has used in a previous season is rotten, and so he has to get another. Probably these sticks are very seldom kept from season to season. The idea is that with the crop one must get a stick for that crop. So of the needs and opportunities of a particular period the men will be found to meet them. 245 [829]

17. Ufilei fie ufi: An *ufilei* that wants to be a yam (*ufi*). 539

Ufi is the general name for all kinds of yam. The *ufi-lei* is a small sweet yam. This indicates one of these small sweet yams that wants to be some other sort of yam. Applied to people who not satisfied with being what they are try to be like someone else. 244 554 829

18. Utu ta lau: Harvesting, cutting off leaves.. 539

This is an expression from the yam harvest and indicates primarily a man who digs his yams before they are quite ready, when the tops will have died off. He strikes or cuts off the tops as he digs his crop. The application of such an expression in Tongan is similar to what it would be in English. 244

PLANTS AND TREES

19. Akau tuu hala: Tree standing (in a) road, and so liable to be splashed with mud, struck with knives, or otherwise injured. 539 824

This proverb or this explanation is probably modern, as before the introduction of wheeled traffic and of steel implements it would seem that the road-side tree was not exposed to especial injury. However, even under ancient conditions the road-side tree would offer itself first to those in search of timber. [313]

20. Faifaimalie naa ke pakii ha lau telie: Go carefully lest thou pluck (break off) a *telie* (*Terminalia catappa,* or *T. litoralis*) leaf. 539 784 829

This phrase is a warning to proceed with care lest a tabu be broken. We do not know its origin.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

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220. He koe liko? What, is it the *liko?*

The *liko* is one form of fishing net honorably distinguished by the large number of fish caught with it. This expression deprecates unduly optimistic expectations; Why, is it the *liko* that you are out with, that you expect so much?

221. Hoholo ae pa he gutu oe valu: The hook near the mouth of the *valu* (a large edible fish).

The fish is likely to swallow the hook, hence of temptation to which one is specially liable to succumb being put in his way.

222. Jia kupenga he ua: Weaving net because of the throat.

One who is not a skilled fisherman but who by force of hunger is driven to weave himself a net, but after all because of his lack of skill is unable to do anything useful with it. Generally of one who is driven by circumstances to make some attempt but is unable to carry it through.

223. Jiu a tama: Son away fishing (for the bonito or shark).

Indicates a woman who is watching day and night for the return of her son from sea.

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224. Ka ai ha mala to ki uta: If there is a curse let it fall to the shore.

This does not seem to have any proverbial application, but is an expression used by the fisherman when bad luck dogs him. Fishing is an exceedingly ticklish operation and cannot succeed if disturbed by broken tabus and malevolent sprites. We might almost call this phrase a prayer of the fishermen. Let the curse leave them and go ashore so that they may have good luck.

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225. Koli tali aho: Fishing waiting for day.

This is used of the procrastinator. During the day time a group of people may say that they will go fishing when night comes (the word *koli* refers to fishing with hand nets), but when the darkness falls there may be those too lazy to carry the plan through and who make some excuse to stay at home. These idle wrigglers out of their job are the ones stigmatized in the expression.

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226. Kupenga e tautau kae fangota: The net is hanging but there will be fishing.

Hanging nets out to dry is a sign that the fishing has ended, but this expression indicates that operations have only been temporarily suspended. A party that has had bad luck may give over for the time but with the resolve soon to try their fortune again: they are hanging up their net but there is going to be more fishing.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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227. Mala nima: Bad luck (of the) hand. 539 226 777

Bad luck, or curse, that is not a visitation of the unseen powers but arises from the awakwardness or folly of man. The phrase is said to have had its origin in the bonito fishing of a certain Tamanika of Fotuhaa in Haapai. He went on board a boat and had the task of bailing out. The fish bit well but the man in charge of the lines continually failed to land a catch. Tamanika vented his disgust in exclamations of, "*Isa, mala nima*," "Ugh, bad luck from the hand." At length Tamanika was given the fisherman's post and a wonderful haul resulted. It is said that the reef called Hakau Tabu was given to Tamanika in recognition of his expertness.

228. Mavae a pa keina: Separation of an eaten hook, that is, a hook that attracts the fish and often gets a bite. 539 226 586

This is applied, for example, to a handsome man and a handsome woman who have been married, but afterwards separated. Each one of them is a hook that is very likely soon to catch another fish.

229. Ngofua e fanga kae taumatu: The beach is free, get the *matu*. 539 226 622 423 [136] [784]

A beach near which lived a great chief could not be fished on at will by the common people. The Samoan *matu (Caesio pisong)* is a fish which is found inshore, and therefore cannot be caught by the common people near where a chief is living except when the lord's beach is open to the public. Such removal of restriction is indicated by the phrase; the beach is open and even the *matu* may be caught. Used generally of being permitted to do that which was prohibited.

230. Oku kei mata ae tua niu: The rib of the coconut leaflet is still green. 539 226 824

Indicates primarily a fishing net in which the leaflets of the coconut are strung on a rope. This net is used more than once; it may be used as long as the leaves remain in good condition. Applied directly to fishing it means that there is still opportunity for the sport as the net is not yet past service. Generally it means that there is still time, or opportunity, for something.

231. Pa kuo fau: Fish hook that has been made, that is, skillfully made by a real craftsman. 539 226

Thence generally to that which has the marks of real craftsmanship about it.

232. Taki taha uku ene fonu: Each one dive for his own turtle. 539 225 571 622

This is commonly used of everybody attending to his own interests. The pursuit of the turtle is a difficult sport calling for considerable experience and skill. It is a sport moreover whose fruits must be properly

8: Collocott & Havea M.I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 This tree in Pulotu is called by the Tongans the *puko lea*, speaking
773 *puko*, and it is curious that a tree in Samoa which has an equivalent name
571 (*pu'a*) and which is apparently the same tree, is called *pu'angangana*,
824 speaking *pu'a*. (Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 381.)

RELIGION

539 370. **E unua e tevolo:** The devil will be shifted.
776 Applied to one who is very hard to move. The idea is that it would
157 be easier to shift a devil than such a one, hard as devils are to move. (Compare Nos. 358, 340 and 133.)

539 371. **Fahu ae tapu:** The prohibition is removed.
554 The word *fahu*, which is of great importance in the understanding of
565 the social organization, indicates broadly rights enjoyed by reason of super-
784 ior family rank. A tabu can be removed by one who has this superiority to the one who imposed it. and *fahu* thus comes to be a technical word for the removal of tabu. As a question this phrase is used to rebuke one who has presumed to do that which he should not.

539 372. **Faka-momoa-tea:** White fowl fashion.
825 This seems to be the literal translation, taking *momoa* as the redupli-
787 cated form of *moa*, fowl. The white fowl is said to be an omen bird.
201 There are two principal senses in which the word is used; first, ominous, presaging evil; second, to weep for the living as though they were dead.

539 373. **Hange ko Hina:** Like Hina.
776 Hina was one of the most talked of goddesses, as Jinilau was one of
773 the most talked of gods. Both are represented as very beautiful. Should a discussion arise as to the identity of a goddess in a tale the story was likely to be finally credited to Hina. Similarly Jinilau would probably be
[829] hit on if the name of a male diety were in question. So to say that anyone is like Hina means that he is much talked of, or much abused.

539 374. **Hia i Fanakava:** Criminal in Fanakava.
778 Fanakava was the name of a very famous sanctuary in Mua, the chief
681 district of Tongatabu, and the home of the Tui Tonga and of other great lords. Up to the introduction of Christianity Fanakava afforded an inviolable sanctuary to all who gained it. The expression indicates a person guilty of some offense but secure from punishment.

539 375. **Ji e he tevolo:** The devil pushing.
776 Used sarcastically to one who is making a poor apology for his bad
183 conduct, "H'm, the devil shoved you into it." This phrase, which is recent, is said to have originated with a man who went visiting a lady he should not have visited, and who, when put on trial for his conduct, defended himself by saying that he went to the woman without knowing what he was doing and that he supposed the devil must have thrust him into the house.

376. Jio pe ka kuo i A'a: Seeing but in A'a; equivalent to day- 539
dreaming, absent-minded. 776

A'a is an island in Vavau where resided the two female deities Jiji 825
and Faingaa, who used to appear in the form of the dark and light-colored 774
heron respectively and to take the spirits of handsome men to their island. The bodies of the beaux thus deprived of their spirits would see and hear and to all appearance be carrying out their normal functions, but their souls were really far away.

377. Mamahii tapu ka kuo ilo: Solicitous for the tabu, but 539
knowing. 784

This indicates one who is genuinely desirous of observing a tabu, but who knowing the value or charm of the thing prohibited is irresistibly attracted by it and may in the end even break the tabu. The story of Eve and the fruit has been quoted in illustration of this.

378. Mana hoo tevolo: May your devil have power (*mana*). 539

A threat of an angry man to another. Your god will need plenty of 776
power to protect you from what I am going to do to you. In its present form it is modern, but with the substitution of some other word for *tevolo* (devil) may well be ancient. Another form of the same phrase is *Manamana hoo tevolo ke ta fai,* May your devil have power for us to do (strive together). The meaning of the two phrases is the same. Either expression may be preceded by *Ofa ke,* I hope that.

379. Ngali pe tevolo moe pouli: Devil just befitting the darkness

Sprites and ghosts and supernatural appearances usually show up at night. Applied to a person with a bad reputation to whom all sorts of bad actions are likely to be imputed. Having once got the reputation of a devil he is liable to be made to carry the blame for any fresh deed of darkness.

380. ·Pekepeka-tama.

This indicates the white flying-fox said to be an omen of disaster to 539
the house of Ata the chief of Kolovai in the west of Tongatabu, and thence 825
used generally of an omen, portent. The words seem literally to mean, 787
Flying-fox lad, as though one were addressing the observation to another.
Tama, lad, is frequently applied to chiefs irrespective of age, as *toahine,* [565]
girl, is used of chiefly woman. *Pekepeka* is the usual name for the swift [561]
(*Collocallia spodiopyga*), but in this instance seems to be a reduplicated [136]
form of *peka,* the flying fox.

381. Tevolo hala he jikota: A devil making a road of a king- 539
fisher, that is, manifesting himself through the kingfisher (*Hal-* 776
cyon sacra). 825
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The habit of calling the old gods "devils" dates only from the intro- [136]
duction of Christianity. As this expression implies the kingfisher was one

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2. **Fetuu-aho:** Day star, or morning star. This is frequently applied to Venus in her early morning appearances, but the name seems equally applicable to any bright star whose rising closely precedes the dawn (compare Samoan *Fetuao*, the morning star). 821
3. **Fetuu fuka:** Flag or flagged star, a comet.
4. **Fetuu ejlafi:** Fire-bringing star, shooting star.
5. **Uha:** Rain. Belongs to great deities, the Tangaloa, who reside in the sky. This is the reason why prayers for rain were made to the goddess Tafakula, a descendant of the Tangaloa, who passed human supplications on to headquarters. [782] [776]
6. **Umata:** Rainbow. The rainbow belongs to a deity. It is tabu to point to the rainbow, and should one disregard this prohibition the limb with which he points will swell with elephantiasis or perhaps as with elephantiasis. [776] [784] [753]
7. **Mofuike:** Earthquake—is caused by Maui digging too energetically in his garden in the Underworld. Another account, which is much more doubtful, relates that Maui, getting drowsy, lets the earth totter. Whatever the cause the remedy is simple: make a great noise and beat on the ground to recall the god to a sense of his misdemeanor. 823 776
8. **Ahiohio:** Whirlwind. A blind god, who rushes about not knowing whither he is going nor what damage he is doing. A small whirlwind is a small god and a large whirlwind a great deity. In dealing with this blind god the right procedure is to induce him to go elsewhere by making a noise so that he may know that he is interfering with men. 821 776

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. E. W. Gifford of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, Bishop Museum, who has made available information collected in 1920-1921, including interesting notes written by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker of Haapai; to my wife, whose interest in Tongan lore places me under constant obligation; to Prince Tungi, the Consort of Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga; and to my friends and colleagues of the Methodist Mission, Rev. J. Havea, Rev. D. Malupo, and Rev. A. Tamale. 122

inquired into the cause of the uproar; and they 775
told us, with seeming sincerity and unconcern, that 776
the island had been shaken, because the giant mowe, 782
who supported it upon his shoulders, was become 823
weary with his burden, and was beginning to fall
asleep; and that for fear he should stumble and throw
the island off his shoulders, they had all cried out as
loudly as possible, and beaten the ground with
sticks, to awake him: that by their howlings he
was roused from his drowsiness, and the island was
held as fast as before upon his shoulders.

At another time, I was upon the sea-shore, when there was felt a smart shock of an earthquake, and I saw two canoes that were lying upon the beach, shaken with it. The natives did not appear at all alarmed; but immediately began to shout as loud as they could, and to beat the ground with sticks, till it was over. I began to ridicule their folly and superstition: but they took no notice of it: they said they were sure mowe was falling asleep, and they must rouse him; and began again to howl and scream and to strike the earth.

They supposed also that every man had an odooa 775
or particular spirit attending him; and when any 776
thing wonderful excited their attention respecting
us or our goods or arts, as was the case with our
cuckoo-clock, &c. they would say, "Oye awa koo
odooa fogee!" "O dear, he has a spirit!" The [784]
odooa or particular spirit, which presides, as they [761]

175 suppose, over every one, sends afflictions and maladies
776 if he is angry, and when irreconcileable, occasions
the death of the person. It is to render him propi-
784 tious that the relations so often wound themselves,
761 and sometimes put some of the sick persons' wives or
782 domestics to death.

By this time, having become very fluent in the
175 language, I extended my acquaintance, and was
797 the companion of the chiefs in most of their expe-
123 ditions and excursions. They much respected me, and esteemed me as a very entertaining companion; as I could now, with a ready familiarity of language, amuse them with tales and descriptions of European customs, inventions, and events; and understand their remarks and tales in answer. I had it now in my power also to entertain large parties in return, and had learned to join in their amusements with too great facility and pleasure.

I took pains also to endear myself to the chiefs by timeing my presents, and presenting them in the most approved and acceptable manner. My abbee being in a high state of cultivation, in the scarcest seasons abounded with fruits, and probably it would have been a chief source of supply to Mulkaamair.
175 When scarcity desolated the country around, ripe
797 plantains bended the branches of my trees, of which
123 I would cut twenty branches and send them as a
431 present to Mulkaamair, borne on the shoulders of
482 forty men. This was the etiquette of Tonga: the

FISHING

The villagers in Pangai do not have either easy or quick 226
access to good fishing-grounds other than the nearby reefs.
This is the reason why fishing does not bulk so largely in the
work-activities of the men as it does in those of other
villages. A few of the men most interested fish fairly [438]
consistently, selling their surplus fish to other households of
the village. The majority of the men however, think fishing [461]
too onerous a job. They buy fish or canned meat when they [432]
have the ready money. For the rest of the time they subsist [262]
on a meatless diet. These men are of course still well aware
of the various fishing-techniques. Some of these fishing-methods are mentioned in this section in order to show something of the ways in which the villager is able to use working-party methods to gain a desired end, to show also the survival of a few magical beliefs in this type of activity.

Shark-fishing is still the most organized of all fishing-methods. Typically, six or more men go in a cutter to the place called Matahina, off the coast of Vava'u proper, recognized as the best shark-fishing bed. Twenty dry
coconut-husks have been fastened on a long wire. At Mata- 226
hina the expert fisherman in charge *(toutai)* drops these 789
husks into the water and jangles them together as he intones [782]
an ancient incantation calling on Hina to send sharks.
If sharks approach but then disappear again, he uses another incantation to allay their coyness. If no sharks appear after repeated calls, the attempt is made again in other parts of the fishing-beds. When sharks appear round the cutter, a noose is slipped into the water, salt meat is spread in front of the noose and the effort made to draw the noose tight over the shark as it darts after the bait. A successful expedition will
often catch many sharks by this method. Should the expedi- 226
tion be unsuccessful, the expert fisherman knows that some- 789
one back in the village has disturbed or interfered with his 784
fulesiu or "shark-house." This is a closed container—an empty kerosene tin, a box, a marine shell, or even a house—which the expert has designated as the "shark-house" for the expedition. This designation has rendered the container *tapu*. It has either been hidden if small, or ostensibly

226 closed if large. The discovery of this "shark-house" by
[789] unauthorised persons in the village is sufficient to give bad
[784] luck to the fisherman.

When the expedition returns with its catch of sharks,
[202] a conch shell-trumpet is blown while the cutter is still some
distance away from Pangai. If this is the first time that
[574] this cutter has been successfully used for shark-fishing, a
large feast will be prepared for the fishermen. If the cutter
has been used before, only a small feast is necessary. The
catch is divided by the expert in charge. Of a catch of say,
[644] fifteen sharks, one is given to the village overseer as the
representative of authority, one is given to the pastor of the
[793] established church (both of these sharks are looked upon
[651] as tribute indirectly to royalty—to the representative of
royalty, to the representative of the royal church), and the
remainder are divided among the households of the village.
A smaller catch would be divided in the same proportions.
226 If a house has been used as the "shark-house," the expert
789 makes *kava* in this house. After this *kava* has been drunk by
784 the fishermen and all the other men of the village, the *tapu*
276 is considered lifted from the house. If some small object
has been used as a "shark-house," this object is taken inside
the house in which *kava* is made. In both cases the formal
making of *kava* lifts the *tapu*; the house or object may
thereafter be used for any ordinary purposes.

226 Throughout the fishing, the preliminaries and the conclusion, the village expert fisherman for shark-fishing is in
complete charge of the proceedings. He directs the expedition in every particular. The months from September to
[221] February are the official shark-fishing months.

Net-fishing methods for smaller fish are also employed. The hand-net may be used by one man or else a group of three or more men combine to use the European seine-net. The large net may be set during high water and left until low tide when the catch is taken and divided among the men, or else several men may hold the mouth of the net open while others beat the water with sticks and try to drive the fish into the net. No expert supervision is needed for this type of fishing.

For fishing which uses a long line of plaited coconut-sheets *(vola)*, more organization is necessary, and here the

many uses in Pangai. Each household keeps an adequate 287
amount on hand to meet all possible emergencies. It is still
largely used as bedding and is a necessity for any of the more
formal gift-occasions. It is *tapu* to make bark cloth during a 287
mourning period set for a chief, noble, or for members of the 784
royal family. This *tapu* mourning period ranges from two 765
to three months for a minor noble up to at least six months 565
for a great noble and a period of more than a year after the
death of royalty. No bark cloth may be made until someone (634)
in authority, the governor of Vava'u for instance, or the son
of the deceased noble, notifies the village overseer that the (644)
mourning period is at an end. The overseer in turn relays
this information to the women of the village.

A few women may meet together informally to make 287
bark cloth near the house of the leader of the group. The 464
more formal groups however, meet in a special house in the 571
centre of the village which was built for the making of bark 461
cloth and is used for no other purpose. This house is in
European style. It was built about twelve years ago, all the
households in the village contributing the required money,
material, and labour. When such a formal party is
organized, the women proceed to the bush to collect bark and
dye-materials. These are obtained by each woman from
mulberry-trees and dye-plants growing on the plantation of
her husband or another relative. About three days later,
after these materials have been prepared for use, the women
meet together in the public house *(fale kautaha)*. There they (644)
are addressed by the village overseer who urges the women
to work hard, to work quietly and to avoid scandalous or
quarrelsome talk. Women from other villages may be invited (574)
by their Pangai friends to come and assist in the work. Each
visitor assists the woman who has been responsible for her
invitation.

The men meanwhile prepare large ovens of food together
with relishes of pork, fish, and chicken. After the women (574)
have beaten out a specified length of bark cloth (any length
from four to forty fathoms, as agreed upon), they notify the
men who thereupon open the ovens and serve the food. The
women eat again after a further specified length of cloth has
been completed. The work proceeds quickly under the
stimulus of group activity. A group of say, sixteen women

caught when wild-eyed, shrieking children are allowed to 231
hunt them down. [857)

There are a few dogs and a few cats in the village. The villager however, shows little interest in animals that are neither a potential source of food nor of value in lightening the burden of work.

There is no snaring of wild birds nor any attempt to 224
make wild birds a part of the dietary. Flying-foxes are 262
abundant on the higher cliffs of the island. Only one man in (223)
the village, a native of Niuafo'ou, shows any interest in these
as an article of food. He occasionally traps them by
knocking them with a pole into a net. None of the villagers
has bothered to learn the technique. Part of the reason for
this may lie in the fact that in ancient Tonga the flying-fox [825]
was one of the animals sacred to the Tongan deities. Possibly (776)
there has been a survival of this *tapu* attitude toward the (784)
flying-fox even though the villager is not aware of the reason [178]
for this attitude.

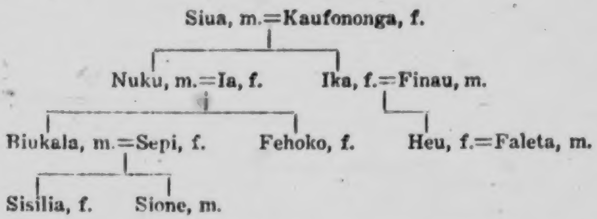
ECONOMIC EDUCATION

The growing child is inducted into the economic 868
activities of the group very gradually and without many tears. He or she takes on economic duties according to the strength and skill at the moment. Thus, the six year old girl can start a fire and wash a few clothes though she will as yet make no attempt at cooking. The eight or nine year old boy is already being sent independently to the bush plantation to bring back food and firewood. By this age he is certainly capable of rendering assistance to the household in agricultural work. How much assistance he does render depends largely on the make-up of the household (on the number, that is, of able-bodied adult men in the group) and his ability to disappear with a gang of playmates whenever he senses his services may be in demand. A girl of twelve is already a good cook and housekeeper although she will not yet have learned to make mats. She will begin to learn mat-making techniques between the ages of twelve and sixteen, depending upon the interest of the mother as well as of the girl herself and her industriousness. She will have learned already the techniques of beating out bark cloth though the skills involved in stencilling such cloth and preparing the

These attitudes begin at about the time when the girl has her first menstrual period—between the ages of eleven and twelve. They continue until old age. 593 602 145

Some of these respects are naturally transferred to the wife of the brother. 607 Thus the brother's wife may sit and sleep in the same room as the sister-in-law, but may not scold or order her to do things. The sister may never touch her brother's wife, may not help her remove her clothes, may not wear her clothes, may not wipe the perspiration from her forehead. When the brother's wife is in [784] labour, it is *tapu* for the sister to go near the house. After [844] the delivery when the mother is lying comfortably and nicely [846] covered, the sister may visit her and sit respectfully beside her. She may look at the baby and pick it up if it cries. If the mother is uncovered for any attention, the sister must leave the house. The sister decides whether she or someone [553] else of her choice shall name the baby.

Where there are several sisters, these are ranked according to age and descent. Thus in the following genealogy: 593 602 607 561 (601)

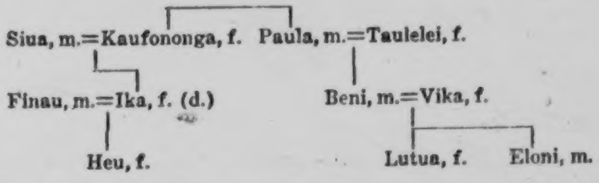


both Heu and Fehoko are "sisters" of Biukala, but Heu outranks Fehoko and this outranking includes also the father's sister relationship *(mehekitanga)* to Biukala's children, because Heu is related to Biukala through Biukala's father's sister (Ika is the sister of Nuku). Heu must show respect for Sepi who is her brother's wife, and Fehoko must also observe similar *tapu* in relation to Sepi. The respectful attitudes between Heu and Biukala are weakened because of the fact that the closely related parents of both are now dead. Formerly, when the parents were alive, Heu and Biukala could neither speak to each other nor sit together in the same house. Now, with relaxed restrictions, this may [178] be done and Heu may even go to Biukala's house to ask for food.

FATHER'S SISTER

604 [601] The respectful observances between brother and sister carry on in the next generation in the kinship status of the father's sister *(mehekitanga)* in relation to her brother's children. These kinship avoidances therefore, generally operate between two generations, but if the father's sister is dead, then the father's sister's daughter will act as father's sister even though her " nephews and nieces " are of the same generation stratum as herself. This is shown if the generation given above is continued with collateral lines:

[601]



In this genealogy, Ika, now deceased, was the " sister " of Beni, and hence, father's sister of Beni's children, Lutua and Eloni. However, Heu, Ika's daughter, is classed now as father's sister to Beni's children. This of course, complicates the reciprocal relationships considerably, because Beni also ranks as Heu's mother's brother, from whom Heu, because of the *fahu* relationship, may take anything she wishes.

Between the father's sister and her brother's children, respectful observances, as noted, are still important. Thus Heu acts as father's sister to four children, Sisilia, Sione, Lutua, Eloni. [784] It is *tapu* for the children to drink of the same nut or eat of the same portion of food as Heu. The children may not come into the house if Heu is sick, although Heu may care for any of the four children should they be sick. At all times the children must defer to the authority and wishes of their father's sister. She has in a real sense, ultimate control over their lives in so far as her brothers must also defer to her authority. It is right and proper that when any food distribution is made, the father's sister should be remembered with an extra large share. Or that when any fish catch is made, some of the fish should be set aside for the father's sister before the catch is consumed or sold. At all times and in all places, that is, care must be taken to show deference and regard for the father's sister.

DEATH

761 For the villager as for all other humans death at last comes to cut short the span of life. The patterns of behaviour that he has elaborated to enable him to handle this crisis are again a mixture of the new and the old. They may be most clearly described by showing the way they control the behaviour of a group of relatives when the household head dies.

763 When the father is dying, it is *tapu* for his children to come into the house in which the sick man is lying, or dying.
784 The mother may attend the dying man, but not the children.
593 This is part of the general set of *tapu* that govern the relation of father to children. The remains of the father's food, for example, or his drinking-nut, are *tapu* to his children. Children must not touch the father's head. A child being played with or fondled by the father may not eat food at the same time. It is *tapu* for a child to wear the father's *vala*.

763 The dying man therefore, is attended by his wife and
[593] by relatives of himself and his wife. They shake the man to keep him alive. They pray over the man, use whatever
[602] medicines are suggested. But the dying man may speak, he may say that he has been mean or deceitful to someone. In this case, the situation is considered pretty hopeless.
764 When it is evident that life has finally ebbed away, the wife closes her husband's eyes and mouth. She wipes the body with warm water, rubs it with coconut-oil, dresses the corpse in "best" clothes. Bark cloth is wrapped round the chest. Mats are spread in the middle of the house, bark cloth is placed on top, and a pillow. Then the corpse is laid on this "bed" and covered up to the chin with the finest mats that the household can find. Close relatives, dressed in their ceremonial skirts sit round the corpse, fanning it to keep away flies, and keeping up a continuous wailing and chanting *(tangi)*. This is generally continued all night long. Just after daylight breaks, the man's children are allowed into
[593] the house for a moment to give the deceased one last greeting in the form of a kiss *(uma)*. The corpse is then wrapped in a five fathom length of bark cloth, placed on a wooden frame and carried to the village cemetery for burial.

764 The village undertaker is usually in charge of the corpse
767 at the grave. He is called to the house only if expert
services are required in laying out the body. If, for instance, there were complications in the death, or if the mouth or nose began to bleed, then the expert would be called in to arrange everything in a decent manner.

764 The grave has been dug by relatives during the night.
Other relatives have been at work before dawn preparing
[602] the oven for the funeral feast. The food continues to cook
while the body is being interred. When the corpse reaches
the cemetery, it is lowered into the grave. The undertaker
gets into the grave also and arranges the mats and bark
[767] cloth round the body. He puts a large stone on top of the
body to anchor it to the grave. Then he climbs out and the
[533] grave is filled in. There is singing and praying while this is
being done. Finally the village overseer stands on the grave
[782] and makes a brief statement in which he urges the mourners
[644] to still their grief. He also announces the arrangements
for the funeral feast and *kava*-drinking.

764 A *kava*-circle is formed on an open space near to the
mourners' house. The village overseer is invited to preside.
276 On his left hand sits the undertaker and on his right sits the
574 man who acts as attendant chief *(matapule)* to the village
767 overseer. As the *kava* is being made, the ovens are opened.
Then when the *kava* is clear and ready for drinking, the
624 undertaker orders the food to be displayed. If special
565 formality is desired, five stalks of sugar-cane are brought
644 forward at this time. One stalk is placed before the overseer, two before the undertaker, and two before the attendant chief. The undertaker and the attendant each break their stalks into a sufficient number of pieces so that there is one piece for each of the men of the *kava* circle. This sugar cane
then constitutes the *kava*-relish *(fono ae kava)*.[24] It is *tapu*
[784] to smoke tobacco at any time during this funeral celebration.

764 The *kava* is now served. The undertaker receives the
first cup. He pours the *kava* from the cup handed him into
276 a special *tapu* cup that he carries with him. The other
574

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767 [24] It is common today in the village for the *fahu* to take the *kava*-
relish presented to his mother's brother, a custom which Gifford notes
[178] (*Tongan Society*, p. 24) as "anciently not extensively practised among
commoners."

grave-pebbles and sand to decorate further the grave. On 765
the tenth day, the close male relatives prepare a large feast 602
to bring this mourning period to a close *(fakamalele ae putu)*.
The food is kept until nightfall when all the young boys and 765
girls in the village, all the unmarried youth, that is, from 602
puberty onwards, are invited to come to the deceased's house 574
there to dance, sing and be joyful. The older people sit 276
drinking *kava* and watching the fun. After the first making
of the *kava*, the feast is divided among all present, young
and old. The merry-making and *kava*-drinking continue
until an early hour in the next morning. Then the people
gather up their food-divisions and return home. The period
of mourning is over. Relatives return to their own villages,
if they have come from afar. The everyday life of the
village can renew itself.

For the death of an important individual in the village, 765
this ten-day mourning-period is considered sufficient. During [784)
this time it is *tapu* for anyone in the village to sing, dance,
or make bark cloth. For an important noble, the mourning-
period may last for six months or more. The status of the 765
deceased is shown by the length of his mourning-period and 565
the consequent *tapu* on any joyful activities or on bark cloth 554
making. 784

Semisi, the resident village undertaker *(ha'a tufunga)* 764
is of no high social class. He inherited his skill from his 767
father who was undertaker before him. Semisi would not
attempt to embalm a body. He limits his job to the arrange-
ment of the corpse in the house (if this is necessary) and to
a general superintendence over the burial. For his services
Semisi is paid with bark cloth, mats, and food. Semisi has 767
the right to the honorific name of Manafa, a name conferred 554
on him by the high chief Lepakuku of the village of Leimatua.
This name not only increases Semisi's importance in the
village—it is the name by which he is called in a *kava* circle—
but it gives him the right to practice undertaking anywhere
in Tonga. In other words, it makes him a sort of recognized
member of the informal guild of Tongan undertakers. After
each burial, Semisi is in a *tapu* state for two or three days. [784)
He eats by himself and does not take any part in food- [264)
preparation. An undertaker of the highest social class must [252)

767 resign himself to eating alone all the days of his life.[25] His
554 left-over food is always given to animals—it may never be
264 eaten by another human. He may never cook for his wife
252 or children. His food is always prepared for him.

858 DEATH OF CHILDREN

766 An infant who dies at birth or is stillborn may be named,
[845] or not, according to the wish of the parents. It is buried in
[553] the village cemetery, by the parents themselves, without
[767] benefit of the undertaker's skill. A child is hardly important enough to merit calling in the undertaker. The difference in pattern between the death ceremonial for the adult as just described, and that for a young child is well brought out by the following notes on the death of an eight months old infant.

766 This infant, Kuli by name, suffered from a fever for
858 five days then died suddenly at noon, in his mother's mother's
593 house. Present at the death were the mother, the mother's
603 mother, and the mother's mother's sister, the latter two being very old women, partially blind and crippled. An unrelated woman passerby heard the first death wail from the mother. She went inside the house and found the dead baby cupped on the weeping mother's lap. The woman closed the baby's eyes and left. Outside the house sat the infant's father. A three-year-old sister of the infant is sent crying from the house to join her father. The mother soon leaves the house of death to go to her own house to fetch the laying-out mats and bark cloth. The mother's brother's daughter arrives and commences to clean and sweep the death-house. The half-senile mother's mother begins to talk to arriving mourners who have difficulty in suppressing laughter at the

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[25] Formerly, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 196-198), a
[178] commoner was most likely to be buried by a relative. "Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *huatufunga*." Gifford also notes that
[784] after a burial, an undertaker could not feed himself for five, ten, or fifteen days, the period of *tapu* depending upon the rank of the deceased. Information in the text above that the Pangai undertaker eats by himself for two or three days, probably represents a modern variation on the more complete *tapu* of not eating with the hands. Information that the highest-class undertakers eat by themselves all the days of their lives probably represents village belief only. There is no mention of this extreme *tapu* in the pages of Gifford.

276 right does the pounding. The boy on the left adds the water as required and later calls out the names of the drinkers that the cups of *kava* may be passed to them in turn.

[516] [784] The *kava*-maker sits quietly behind her bowl when she is not making or filling cups. She keeps her hands folded. She is not supposed to touch her head or face or to talk [841] throughout the evening. A menstruating girl neither makes nor drinks *kava* because of a *tapu* on cold water at this time. [846] A woman who has given birth to a child, similarly does not make *kava* for at least a month after the delivery.

276 574 576 The drinkers sit in a semi-circle facing the *kava*-bowl if the arrangement of the house allows this pattern. Otherwise they sit round three walls of the house, their backs against the walls, with the *kava*-maker at the fourth wall. Generally the young man at the left of the maker calls the name of the drinker. He holds a half coconut-cup over the bowl. The maker lifts the strainer and the *kava* runs into the cup. The drinker named claps his hands together twice and the cup is passed hand to hand until it reaches the drinker. The drinker may indicate that the cup is not full enough for his liking. In this case, the cup is passed back and more *kava* is added. The drinker is supposed to swallow his cupful at one breath. He passes the empty cup back along the circle of hands to be refilled for another or else spins the cup along the floor in such fashion that it comes to rest against the *kava*-bowl. Two coconut-cups are sufficient for any but the largest gathering. The drinkers wait patiently for their names to be called. If the *kava* is finished before all the names of those present are called, those uncalled are without luck. The bowl is placed aside to wait until another bowlful is made. This may be any time up to half an hour later. Meanwhile the flow of discussion is resumed until one of the older men present indicates by a nod or muttered word that it is time to make more *kava*. The wrung-out *kava* from the last bowl is used again unless it is obvious that all the strength has been washed out. Then new *kava*-root is substituted entirely or else added to the old crushed root.

276 574 576 571 There is little attempt to preserve any patterned formality in an ordinary drinking-party. An older man indicates that one of the youth should call the names for the drinking unless he asks one of the adults to do so. Names

of the interminable religious discussions that are a feature 771
of many *kava*-circles; by a study of dreams; by considera- 829
tion of the form into which some of the fundamental anxieties of the culture are cast.

A brief extract from some of our field notes will be 771
sufficient to indicate the way in which religion has become 829
part and parcel of village life. We were talking casually one 124
night with a group of men about the use of omens and other minor magical practises common in our own society. Then we asked for the Tongan equivalents of these folk-beliefs.
All the men denied knowledge of any. Sesoni summed up [782]
their attitude by saying with emphasis and with unanimous
approval, that when the villager is worried today, he prays [789]
to God to solve all his difficulties. He has no need for magical
activities when prayer is the only thing that can help him.
The important thing about this statement is not that the [784]
villager never observes magical *tapu*, but that he has come
to look upon the Christian religion as an explanation for all of life's problems and difficulties.

It is unnecessary to consider evidence of the Tongans' 771
belief in Christianity in detail.[30] Much of it stands in the records of Tongan church history for all to read. All that we do here is to suggest some further facets of the religious life of the village.

Table 14[A] shows that Pangai has a large Roman 771
Catholic membership as compared with kingdom member- 795
ship. The kingdom as a whole is 88 per cent. Protestant. Pangai is 78 per cent. Protestant. We have no particularly valid explanation for this difference. The first three Protestant churches in this table all represent varieties of fundamentalist Wesleyanism whose doctrinal differences are very obscure to the white inquirer—so obscure in fact, that

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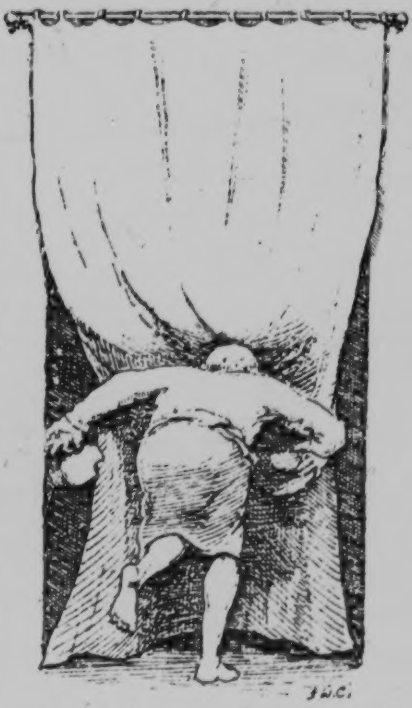
[30] For some of this evidence, see Beaglehole, Ernest, "Psychic 771
Stress in a Tongan Village." *Proceedings*, Sixth Pacific Science 154
Congress (in press), where the attempt is made to show the fundamental conflict situations in the present day village culture. Since this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell has recorded particulars of two further cases of Tongans suffering from mental illness as the result of trying to solve apparently insoluble conflicts between Tongan custom and white economic patterns. The interesting point in this context is that the conflicts have been worked out in terms of religious symbolism and ideology.

A. [See category 116, p. 126--Analyst]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

644 looks like a gentleman. We had been good friends during
622 my former visit, while his wife Fujipala was still alive.
493 When they dined with me on that occasion, they drove up
291 in an antiquated buggy, with a Hindustani coachman from
Fiji, he in dress clothes, and she in mauve satin, bonnet
and boots included, attended by four maids of honour, as
befits a king's granddaughter who weighs seventeen stone.
Poor Fuji! her good sense and influence are badly wanted
now. Her son, Taufaahau, deprived of her control, was
running wild, and since he was generally regarded as the
heir to the king, it was imperative that Fatafehi should
645 bring him under some sort of discipline. It was partly to
793 urge this upon him that I had invited him to visit me,
798 and partly because he had never shown animus against the
Wesleyans; and I wished him, as Governor of Haapai, to
endeavour to check the disaffection which the speeches
622 of the Free Church ministers were creating. When he
644 arrived, Vaea, a chief among the returned exiles, was
576 drinking tea. He had just taken a cup in one hand and a
784 piece of bread-and-butter in the other when the great man
264 was announced. "Who?" asked Vaea, not catching the
name. "Tui Belehake," I answered, giving his title; and
as I spoke the *portière* was flung aside and Fatafehi strode
in heartily. When I looked round Vaea had disappeared
from his chair, and was squatting in the corner with depending
lower jaw and eyes fixed vacantly on the ceiling.
I spoke to him once or twice, trying to include him in the
conversation, but he did not seem to hear. The only sign
of life about him was the trembling of the teacup in his
palsied hand. Suddenly he got up, and having no free
hand to move the curtain, he plunged at it head-foremost,

teacup and all, and disappeared. We found the empty 622
cup afterwards on the lawn, turned upside down in the 644
saucer. When his hostess had recovered from the effect 576
of this unexpected exit, she asked Fatafehi for an explan- 784
ation. He laughed 264
heartily at her ignor- [522]
ance of the usages of polite society, and said, "It is the *tabu*. He can't eat while I'm here. Ha! ha! ha!"



"He plunged at the curtain head-foremost."

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Fatafehi's laugh once heard was not to be forgotten. It began low down in his person and bubbled upwards, until suddenly the upper part of his head fell back, and a mirthful roar burst forth that shook his portly presence to its foundation. It was a ready laugh, mirth-compelling, and it carried far. When we told Mrs S. of our august visitor, her first question was, "Did you notice his laugh? No other Tongan laughs like that. They say that it is hereditary in his family.
You see it is his rank: no other Tongan would be allowed [554]
to laugh like that." Thereafter I looked with great respect

175 was to absolve his subjects from the penalties of the
643 broken *tabu*, and to take the good things provided for
him without descending into the arena of political strife:
he was, in fact, the heaven-appointed sovereign in a
limited monarchy. The temporal king — the Tui Kanokubolu — was the irresponsible sovereign of the people,
wielding absolute power of life and death over his subjects,
and was charged with the burden of the civil government
and the ordering of the tribute due to the gods and their
175 earthly representative, the Tui Tonga. None but the son
643 or grandson of a Tui Tonga could succeed to that dignity,
644 and his mother must be the daughter of the Tui Kanokubolu. The temporal king was therefore always grandfather or uncle of the Tui Tonga. Thus was the blood
kept pure.

[784] Although the Tui Tonga had no executive functions,
yet, as representative on earth of the immortals, he was
environed with the most rigid *tabu*. As it would be
inconvenient to multiply personages of such transcendent
rank, his wife was always taken from him after having
175 borne him two children. Her son was the heir, but her
644 daughter attained an even higher rank than her father
554 or brother. She was the Tui Tonga *fefine* (female Tui
Tonga), and even her father must bow to her for absolu-
[582] tion of the *tabu*. No mortal might aspire to marriage
with her, but she might, without loss of dignity, have
children, and her daughter, if she had one, became the
[264] Tamaha — the highest earthly dignity. Neither her
[784] mother nor her grandfather, to whom all others paid
homage, could eat in her presence, nor neglect to per-

form the *moïmoï*[1] by embracing her feet when they left 175 644
her. 554

These higher dignities, however, were a superstructure [264] [784]
built of the high estimation in which women were held [562]
upon the fundamental idea of the divine affinity of the [643]
Tui Tonga. The key to this belief is to be found in the 173
epic of Kau-ulu-fonua, from whose reign Tongan history 175
may be said to date.[2] The following is an unworthy 643
prose version of the story:—

In days of old the Tui Tonga was lord of all Tonga— [651]
lord of the soil and of the men, and of the first-fruits;
and to no other chief was tribute paid but to the Tui
Tonga only. He received tribute from Haapai, from [651]
Haafulu hao,[3] from Niuafo'ou,[4] from Niua-tobutabu,[5] from [648]

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[1] A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it [576]
sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches
the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm [565]
and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the [516]
moïmoï must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing [753]
death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute [164]
to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moïmoï*
frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu*
they had broken.

[2] *Circa* 1535. There are fragmentary traditions of an earlier time when [266]
the Tongans were in a lower social state, and cannibalism was practised.
A colony from Tonga founded a powerful clan in Mangaia (Cook Islands) [648]
before the end of the fifteenth century, and it is probable that Pylstaart [167]
was peopled from Tonga before the sixteenth century; but the names of
the kings before Kau-ulu-fonua are unreliable (*vide* Appendix I.), and the
traditions are too disconnected to be classed in their proper sequence.
The old men who stored up these traditions have passed away, and it
cannot now be hoped that the records of the dim past will ever be rescued
from oblivion.

[3] Vava'u. [4] Boscawen Island. [5] Keppel's Island.

stitutions. If their young men wanted excitement, there 175
was Fiji: there they might have their fill of war and rap- 177
ine, but in Tonga they must obey the chiefs set over them 622
by the gods or brave the consequence of the broken *tabu.* 784
In those days no Tongan had dared to test the belief. 175
It was not a superstition. They had seen men die whom 784
they knew to have infringed a *tabu*, and others, cursed by 761
some enemy, had withered away before their eyes. Thus
was royal authority strengthened by physical fear—ever
the strongest influence with the mob.[1]

For sixty years the land was at peace. They built great 175
tombs for their chiefs, and turned the islands into vast
gardens, so that there was abundance, and rich portions of
the first-fruits were presented to the gods. Then Mou- 175
ngatonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, took the Samoan woman 643
Tohuia to wife, and when her son Ngata grew to man-
hood, Moungatonga grew wearied with the weight of
authority, and charged him with the dominion of the
people, while he withdrew himself into the honoured
obscurity of rank without power. The new temporal
king took his title from the sacred soil of Kanokubolu

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[1] Now that the bugbear of the *tabu* has been put to flight before the
light of Christianity, they have preserved the belief in a changed form.
They believe that he who swears falsely, after kissing the Bible, must die. 779
In 1886 a house was burned down by an incendiary, and before the courts 626
could interfere, all the villagers met together for a trial by ordeal. A Bible
was brought, and each person took a solemn oath that he or she was inno-
cent of the crime. They took no interest in the judicial inquiry, feeling
sure that the culprit would die within a few weeks. Not long afterwards
an elderly woman named Aua began to sicken and refuse her food. She
grew rapidly worse, and at last confessed that, in a fit of jealousy, she had
set fire to the house of her rival. Her end was hastened by the warnings 769
of her relations that if she was guilty of perjury she had no chance of re-
covery. She was fairly frightened to death.

apart. The poem contained five or six stanzas of ten 000
lines, and in all these there were but two differences of
one word each.

The ancient monuments of Tonga have an interest of 349
their own, since they are the rare efforts of a people who 342
build their houses and temples of materials no more enduring
than grass. The tombs of the Tui Tonga, described 349
by so many travellers, are in the ordinary form of the 764
Polynesian *malae*, a quadrilateral mound faced by huge 643
blocks of stone, rising sometimes in terraces to a height of [71]
20 feet. From the account left to us by the first missionaries
of the funeral of Mumui in the year 1797, we know
that each of these mounds contains in its exact centre the
body of a dead king. The tombs are now so overgrown
with forests that it is almost impossible to photograph
them. Banyan-trees have sprouted on the terraces, and
have bored their roots into every crevice, covering the
stones with a lacework of tendrils which, year by year,
force great blocks asunder, till the form of the terraces is
almost obliterated. I tried to persuade a leading man of [784]
Mua to clear away the forest and preserve the tombs; but
I found that even in these days the tradition of the *tabu*
is strong enough to make this a sacrilege. The rule was, [769]
that after a body was laid to rest, Nature should be allowed
to shroud it from the vulgar gaze, and that no foot should
trample the hallowed ground until the death of a successor.
When this happened, the people reverently cleared the
whole ground, and built a new tomb, and practised the
extraordinary funeral rites that have been so minutely described
by Mariner. But now that the office of Tui Tonga
has been abolished, the tombs will never again be cleared

753 Sickness was regarded as a sign of divine disfavour, as it frequently
is to-day. Christianisation has to a certain extent meant the shifting
784 of old conceptions to a new set of supernatural beings. Some illnesses
[797] are regarded as possession by a maleficent sprite, who can be massaged
and pummelled out of the system by a skilled practitioner. Of the old
[755] gods some had their specialities, much as mortals have, though the
[776] range of functions was generally very wide.

Often, especially in prayers for the healing of sickness, bodily
782 mutilation was resorted to as a sacrifice, and in extreme instances a
victim was slain. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl in
755 the hope that the god would be pleased to restore the great Vavau
chief Finau to health. There is still living a man whose mother saw,
and described to him, the strangling of a man as an offering to the
important god Bulotu Katoa to ensure the recovery of a great Tui
Haatakalaua chief. The victim, with his two executioners, got under a
large piece of native cloth, which was held down by people standing
on the edges. The unfortunate man was strangled and then taken to
Bulotu Katoa's shrine, and two days later the chief on whose behalf
all this trouble was taken breathed his last. There was a similarly
unsatisfactory ending to Mariner's story of human sacrifice. One
informant tells me, in reference to such sacrifice to the god Toko-i-
Moana, that the persons expected to mutilate their little fingers were
[601] the family of the brothers of the sick person's mother. (Such terms
as brother and mother are misleading if understood in the English
sense. For instance, mother and mother's sister, including certain
female cousins, are all called by the same term, and the system is
followed through to its furthest discoverable limits). I have no doubt
that these were the persons generally expected to undergo this
altruistic operation, as they represent the branch of the family over
782 which one enjoys superiority. I am told that amongst an earlier
generation of Tongans it was comparatively rare to find anyone who
755 lived a long life with both little fingers intact. There is still living an
178 old gentleman who has lost in this way the top joint of his right-hand
little finger. But he is now a curiosity, so much so that one can
hardly begin talking to a native to-day on those topics without
presently seeing him lift up his right hand and start truculently
feeling his little finger with his left hand. All the while you see in
his face the eager expression of a man who has something he wishes
to ease his mind of, and at the first opening comes the inevitable
query, "Do you know so-and-so?" As I happen to know the old
gentleman fairly well, and have shaken the mutilated hand, the
sacrificial digit has lost something of its novelty. However, the
owner of the finger is far advanced in life, and in the ordinary course
of nature it cannot be very many years before this, one of the few
remaining links with the old order, will be beyond the possibility of
observation.

771 period of which we have information totemism has given way to a
more highly developed polytheism, but there are indications that the
development was by way of totemism. There are the usual restrictions
784 on the eating of the sacred animal, though some fish which enjoyed a
262 certain amount of sanctity were used for food by those in whose eyes
they were sacred. The whole question of fishing was edged about
[229] with *tabus*, the consideration of which would lead us too far afield
from the matter in hand. But I have not yet been able to positively
784 ascertain whether the species of a fish in which a god was actually
embodied was ever eaten by his devotees. For instance, there is
262 more than one shark deity, but I know of only one clan who refrained
776 from eating shark from religious motives. The two most famous
shark gods manifest themselves in sharks which are not used as food,
and, are in fact altogether exceptional, and probably purely mythical
fish. Putting aside a few fish, which, if not actually the vehicles of
gods, were at all events the subject of special *tabus*, the prohibition of
[154] the eating of the sacred animal is general and clear. A highly
respected native minister of the Methodist Church informs me that to
this day he gets a headache if he eats the sacred animal of his clan,
though it is esteemed a delicacy by those who have the good fortune
to be exempted from the *tabu*, and probably most who are not.

There is an old story which is perhaps a fragment from an ancient
773 and forgotten body of lore in which the totem plays an important
part in the impregnation of the woman of his clan. The tale of the
birth of the lovely Vae, who became so beautiful that there was not
her equal in the whole of Tonga, relates that during her mother's
773 pregnancy the food for which she craved was the rail. The idiom
used to express such cravings of a pregnant woman might be
842 translated with strict accuracy, so far as the form of expression goes,
192 as the food by which she was pregnant, or had conceived. The
present day Tongan, however, uses the expression without any idea of
pregnancy having been caused by the object in question, but merely
as indicating the fastidious liking of a delicate woman for a special
773 food. The god of Vae's father was the dove, and before the mother
had given birth to her child the parents embarked on a voyage,
taking with them the dove god. On the way the expectant mother,
in her longing for her favourite dish, asked her husband for a rail.
He, rather exasperated at so unreasonable a request out at sea,
screwed the neck of his god and gave his wife a meal of dove. Being
compelled by stress of weather to put in at an island, the mother
there gave birth to her child, which to her disgust was marked on the
face by the dove's head. In her chargin at this disfigurement she
abandoned the infant, a little girl, at the foot of a tree when the
voyage was resumed. The remainder of the story, telling of the
child's adoption by a couple on the island, the disappearing of the

776 connected with the wider worship of Bulotu Katoa. The sacred
animal of Mofuta-ae-ta'u was a great sea-eel (Toke), who dwelt in
[825] an opening of the reef opposite the village. This deity resented
anyone's appearance on the beach near his abode with the head bound
with a turban, or whitened with lime. Should anyone so disregard the
eel's feelings as thus to appear in the forbidden area he would be taken
off to the hole in the rock where the god lived. It is related of one
unlucky wight who so offended that he was born off by the enraged
god, but five days later, when his friends and relatives ashore had
finished celebrating his obsequies, he suddenly appeared amongst
them, not, however, his old, good-looking self, for the eel-god had
plucked every hair from his head.

A small fish called the *rete* was regarded as the girdle of Mafuta-
776 ae-ta'u, it being asserted that a shoal of *rete* surrounded the great eel
825 like a leaf-girdle. A similar statement is made about another fish
and one of the shark-gods, to be mentioned later. The eating of the
776 *rete* was not forbidden, but it was *tabu* for the chief Tamale to go down
to the beach on the days when it appeared. Should he neglect this
825 precaution of keeping out of the way (probably within doors) the *rete*
784 would disappear. Restrictions of this sort are not confined to Tamale.

[262] The father of the present Tamale adopted Christianity, and burnt
the temple of his god. Its furniture included fine mats, weapons of
778 war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with tumeric.
[798] Probably this is a representative collection of temple treasures.

Taufa is another god of the chiefly eastern end of Tongatabu,
associated particularly with the great Tui Haatakalaua chief Tungi
776 and his family. The Tungi chieftainship is comparatively late, but
643 the title is now borne by the Tui Haatakalaua, one of the oldest and
proudest names of the Tongan nobility. The special domain of Taufa
776 was a large district called Ahau, including several important modern
[103] villages, in the east of Tongatabu. but the name is more familiar now
as that of a village at the other end of the island. One of the most
776 widely used names of the hero-king, George Tubou I., Taufa-ahau, is
said to be derived from the name of this god and his district. In
643 childhood the king was cured of a serious illness by Taufa, and
551 thereafter bore the name Taufa-ahau. This name was previously
unknown in his family, but has since been perpetuated. Taufa had a
776 famous sanctuary. It is related that, during a time of war, Niukapu,
a chief of very ancient lineage, fled from his foes and gained this
778 house of refuge. His enemies thereupon slew a man, and, with
[782] appropriate accompaniments, presented him as an offering to the god.
The priest Kautae, thinking it shame that a man who claimed
776 sanctuary with him should perish, slew his own daughter and gave
778 her to the waiting warriors, thus ransoming Niukapu. Tamale, who
related this, spoke of Kautae as having given his own life to Niukapu's
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foes, and it is said of priests that it is better that they themselves 776
should die than that one who has taken refuge with them should
perish. Niukapu in gratitude to his deliverer told Kautae to take his 778
pick of a piece of land, but the priest instead asked Niukapu for his 793
kava, which means that in *kava* ceremonies Kautae has the right to
demand that the cup intended for Niukapu should be brought to him. 776
This practice is not very uncommon. There is an old gentleman in the 778
island of Hauno, in Haapai, who, although not a chief himself, has the 793
right to demand the *kava* of a considerable number of chiefs on the 276
ground of their descent from his family.

Taufa is both a sea and a land god. In the sea he is manifested 574
as the shark, and is called Taufa-tahi, i.e., Taufa of the Sea. On 776
land he bore the name Taufa-uta, i.e., Taufa of the Land, but had no
separate sacred animal. In fact, Taufa-tahi and Taufa-uta cannot be 825
considered as two distinct manifestations of the god. Taufa was the 778
god, his totem was the shark, and he had his shrines ashore in which
he spoke through his priest. The name most commonly applied to 793
him is Taufa-tahi. Taufa's shark seems to have been a mythical sea 787
monster. Near Mua, the chief village in eastern Tongatabu, is a
place in the sea, where it is asserted that on calm days white mounds,
like the mounds heaped up over the graves of the dead, can be seen
beneath the water. This spot is called Taufa's cemetery, and here the
god, in the form of an exceedingly white shark, might be sometimes
seen.

Taufa was a notable protector of gardens. To secure the services 776
of the god the husbandman had simply to plait a coconut-leaf in the 241
semblance of a shark, and hang it up in his plantation. This placed
the garden under a *tabu* that none would dare to violate. It is said 776
that after the introduction of Christianity a man had the hardihood to 241
thrust his hand in mockery into one of these *tabu* signs; but the 784
moribund deity was not to be insulted with impunity, and soon afterwards
the sacrilegious violator, whilst bathing in the sea, had both
his arms bitten off by a shark. It is interesting to notice that the 776
priestly succession has been maintained to the present day, and a 793
Kautae is still regularly appointed.

Talia Tubou is the god of the Tui Kanokupolu, whose title is now 776
assumed by the constitutional ruler of Tonga. Even before the advent of
Christianity real power was gradually passing out of the hands of the 643
Tui Tonga into those of more active lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu,
who was in any case a very high chief. Tubou, the royal title of the 554
Tui Kanokupolu appears in the name of the god. Kanokupolu is
itself a small village in the west of Tongatabu, but the Tui Kanokupolu 103
chieftainship has long been a much more important thing than king of 361
this little village would seem to imply, but the real moment of the
name Kanokupolu itself must doubtless be sought elsewhere. Kupolu

361 is a widely distributed Polynesian place name. As the capital of the
modern kingdom Nukualofa is of course the residence of the Tui
[103] Kanokupolu; but the connection between this chieftainship and
[644] Nukualofa is of longer standing than merely since the establishment of
Christianity. The ancient Nukualofa was much smaller than the
present town, which includes within its boundaries a number of family
groups who inhabited areas whose names and locations are still
known.

The sacred object of Taliai Tubou is a large black volcanic pebble,
778 roughly oval in shape, now in the possession of the Wesleyan College,
Nukualofa. This stone is called Tui Ahau, i.e., King of Ahau. Its
613 headquarters were probably Kolovai, the largest town in western
[778] Tongatabu, and the home of Ata, the head of the Haa Ngata (Tribe of
Ngata), to which the Tui Kanokupolu belongs. Ahio was originally
the head of this tribe, but his influence waned by a process similar to
that by which the Tui Tonga's prestige diminished.

Besides the Tui Ahau in Nukualofa there is lying on the ground
778 in Kolovai another stone of the same kind, which enjoys a sort of twin
sanctity, and is reputed to possess the power, rather unusual in a stone,
of bringing forth little pebbles. The natives who led me to see the
stone narrated this curious circumstance with perfect gravity, but
search failed to reveal any of the fruits of petrine propagation.

These stones are of a sort not found on the coral islands of the group, and were perhaps brought from one or other of the two volcanic mountains in Haapai, Tofua and Kao.

Bekebeka-a-Tama, a flying-fox god, belonging originally to Ula, a
776 *matabule* (minor chief, or rather, great gentleman-attendant of a chief)
825 of Ahau, a village near Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, but now
transferred to Ata of Kolovai. The actual god seems to be a purely
[787] mythical flying-fox, whose appearance is an omen of disaster to Ata.
Bekabeka-a-tama is distinguished from the rank and file of flying-foxes
(*beka*) by his white colour, but I know of no one who claims ever to
824 have seen him.* In Kolovai are several casuarina trees on which the
825 flying-foxes are protected by a *tabu*, and which are covered with the
rather noisome little creatures. One or two great chiefs, however,
784 have the right of shooting them on the prohibited trees. If one falls
from the trees to the ground it is free of the *tabu*, and may be picked
up and taken away. Rumour avers that the modern small boy's awe
of the *tabu* is not sufficient to deter him from trying the effect of a
825 surreptitious missile. Should the flying-foxes desert their trees Ata
276 must make *kava* for them and so entice them home again.

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* Ata has since told me that he has several times seen a white flying-fox, most recently within the last two or three years.

Fakafumaka, or Vakafuhu, is the god of the village of Kanokupolu, 643
already mentioned as giving his title to the Tui Kanokupolu. Formerly
there stood here a tree beneath which the installation of the Tui [776]
Kanokupolu took place. A piece of wood from this tree has been used
in the construction of the throne of the Tongan kings, being let in at 643
the back of the royal seat, a symbol of the tree which once stood at the 644
back of the Tui Kanokupolu during his installation ceremony. 824

The sacred animal of this god was a little shell-fish called the *fuhu*,
but there is an obscure statement that he appeared sometimes as a 776
man and sometimes as a rock. The appearance as a man is probably 825
his declaring himself through the priest, but the meaning of his being
a rock is not clear, though it is apparently closely connected with the [787]
fuhu. [793]

An old song is still extant describing the voyage of Faka-fumaka
and Tutula, accompanied by the goddess Fai or Fai-malie, to Bulotu. 776
Fai is the real heroine of the piece, and distinguished herself not only
by her coolness and good sense in the several difficulties and dangers 533
in which they were involved during the voyage, but also by her [192]
voracious appetite in Bulotu, whence arises a proverbial expression
meaning to lick the platter clean, which in Tongan is to "lick like
Fai." Tongans, however, have no cause to regret her greediness, for, 776
having swallowed a yam in Bulotu, she returned to Tonga and gave
birth to a root that has been the progenitor of all the yams in these [824]
islands.

Haele-feke, literally "the Octopus comes," or "Coming in the
Octopus," is a god which appeared in the octopus (*feke*). He is also called [825]
Tutula, already mentioned as the companion of Faimalie and Faka-fumaka
in their journey to Bulotu. Haele-feke is the god of Motua-buaka
(lit. Old Pig), an important *matabule* of the Tui Kanokupolu,
and of Kioa, the head of a younger branch of the same clan. The [262]
clans of Motua-buaka and Kioa, inhabiting a cluster of villages in the
western district of Tongatabu, refrained from eating the small octopus
which is a favourite delicacy of the majority of Tongans.

The octopus god used to appear ashore in a pool called Kanakana. 776
It is said that he changed into a lizard when travelling overland.
When an octopus appeared in this pool it was at once recognised as 825
the god, and the priestess immediately went and awaited him at the [823]
shrine, apparently a little raised platform, whither presently the people
resorted with bunches of coconuts and plaited coconut leaves and 776
earth. The priestess spoke as the octopus, and from words used by 793
an informant would seem to have imitated an octopus, presumably [825]
sprawling out in the manner of this ungainly creature. [787]

The people of this deity not only eschewed in their own diet the
flesh of the octopus, but they must not approach a place where he was 776
being eaten. If any transgressed the *tabu* he was afflicted with 784
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[827]

776 complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable
supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods
[784] dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiu, their
[827] head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell
(*bule*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection
[766] perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both
[237] facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the
[787] bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat
resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped
237 by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

226 Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Valu and his people in
Utulau, in the central part of Tongatabu. The "*fono*" is the food
776 served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in
276 this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice
782 accompanied it.

Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haa-Vakatolo, whose
776 chief is Ahomee, a village near the eastern boundary of the western
part of Tongatabu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree
776 called *fehi* (*vesi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the
824 makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga,
but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that
it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehi*, or
vesi, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people
773 were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place
between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food
prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case
plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who
had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to
left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound
lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus
urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a
signal victory.

Jiji and Fainga'a are two female divinities belonging to the
776 Falefa, a clan of great *matabules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old
[773] story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired
Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred
776 creature is the heron (*motuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the
825 incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Fainga'a. In Tonga a
pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured,
are called Jiji and Fainga'a. It is said that formerly a pair of herons
so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

776 Finau-tau-iku, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of
Tongatabu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest
[779] was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a

825 The *kanahe* (mullet), the sacred creature of the clan called Fainga'a,
613 *matabules* of the Tui Tonga. These *matabules* are descended from the
644 hero Tui Motuliki, who was the son of the Fijian woman Sinailele
(this name is perhaps connected with Hina, the widely recognised
773 Polynesian goddess), and the bones of the dead Maui Atalanga and
Maui Kijikiji. Tui Motuliki was even mightier than the great Maui,
and whilst yet a child performed the most amazing prodigies of
773 strength and valour. The mullet was from infancy sacred (*tabu*) to
him, and an old tale relates that he prohibited its use as food by any
825 man. When he came from Fiji to Tonga he brought his *tabu* with
784 him, and the Tui Tonga is said to have extended the prohibition on
262 eating it to all the men of Tonga. There seems to be no remembered
custom to support this tradition so far as full-grown mullet is concerned, though there is corroboration of the statement that the young
mullet (called *te'efo*) was *tabu* to the men.

825 The *veka* (rail) was the god of Manumua, a chief on the island of
Eua. It was also the god of Motuku-vee-valu (Eight-legged-heron),
776 a chief in the west of Tongatabu, and the father of Muni, of whom
exploits are related very similar to those of Maui. It is said that
773 Motuku-vee-valu and his descendants were chiefs in the west of
Tongatabu before the present Haa-Ngata lords. This, if true, is a
825 very interesting statement. The rail figures prominently in the story
[773] of Muni, guiding the hero, who had been cast into the sea at birth
and was completely unknown to his father, to the old gentleman as he
was hiding from his foe Bunga (coral), the chief of Eastern Tongatabu.
[794] Those who belonged to the rail cult used to take the bird about
with them. This practice is indicated in the story of the birth of the
[773] beautiful Vae.

The *lulu* (owl) is mentioned as sacred to a family group in
[644] Haapai who belonged to the Falefa, already noticed as *matabules* of the
Tui Tonga. Possibly it was sacred to all the Falefa. In passing it
[551] may be remarked that Falefa seems to mean "wide-spread," "widely
ramified," like the water flowing on all sides from the pandanus (*fa*) in
a heavy rain.

825 The best remembered feature of the owl's supernatural functions is
its habit of revealing the pregnancy of women. If the owl hooted near
843 a house in the afternoon it was known that there was a pregnant
woman in that household. The meddlesome bird never blurted out its
news unless for some reason the lady were keeping her interesting
condition a secret, or were as yet unaware of it herself.

825 The hooting of an owl near a house late at night was a sign that
[787] some disaster would befall the unlucky home.

Toke-i-Moana, that Eel-in-the-Open-Sea, was the god of Uiha in
[643] Haapai, whose chief is Malubo. On his mother's side King George
Tubou I. was connected with this family. Two of the king's sons are

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buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There 764
was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried
there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been 766
observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is [177]
a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of [349]
the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an
ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity 776
Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the
name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The [643]
sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes [825]
not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an [778]
unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh [755]
of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the [782]
reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length [784]
conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage [262]
being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally
handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance [826]
being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the 773
poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate
adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The 821
mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his
father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to
him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun
was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him
and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his
son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could
be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud
across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a
cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau.
Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at
sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akana 773
in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. 1., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori
Tiniran is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special 771
connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori
in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously
killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime.
In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tunuunga, 773
relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in
Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tunuunga is killed but Tonga, sadly
scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion.
The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back
to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tunuunga had

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778 been eaten, but all the scraps obtainable were put into a bowl, and the
defunct whale thus restored to life. One tusk, which had been
presented to the Tui Tonga, was not recovered, but Jinilau comforted
him with the observation that nobody would notice its absence unless
he opened his mouth very wide.

Toki-langa-fonua, a great god of Eua, wont to appear in a shark,
776 called the Tui-Fai-Ana, i.e., King of the Fai Cave. Myth relates
825 that Toki-langa-fonua swam to Samoa, and that Tui-fai-ana guarded
778 him throughout the journey. This shark was not an ordinary fish,
but quite a species to himself. His stump tail was a distinguishing
823 feature, as was the variability of his colour. His home was the cave
called Fai-ana on the coast of Eua. He was reputed to be girded
825 about with a shoal of the fish called in Tongan *hofoli*. Approach to
[784] the god's cavern was impossible to anyone wearing a sweet-smelling
[826] leaf girdle, or having the head whitened with lime, and the prohibition
seems to have extended to persons in whom were physical or moral
[577] defects. (A boat can never be successful in shark-fishing unless
[226] sincere harmony exists between the members of the crew). No noise
must be made near his home. Anyone at all unfitted for proximity to
823 the god who attempted to approach the cave fell from the narrow rock
825 path along which he must go, but apparently escaped any penalty
784 more serious than a wetting, for falling into the sea he had no
difficulty in swimming back a little way, and there scrambling ashore.
It is said too that a great wave used to arise at the mouth of the cave
and prevent the approach of the wrongly-disposed person. I have not
yet met anyone who claims to have seen this remarkable shark,
though I have talked with a young man who says that he has seen in
the cave the shoal of *hofoli* said to be the leaf-girdle of Tui-fai-ana.

Toki-langa-fonua (Land-building Axe) is said to have come down
776 from heaven as king of Eua. He begot by his sister Hina twin
daughters, Tobukulu and Nafanua, who in their turn bore to their
father Hemoana and Tafakula. These incests were unwittingly
committed, the parties to them being ignorant of each other's
identity.

The people of Eua are said to be immune from attack by the
825 species of shark called *anga*. As a matter of fact the *anga* has more
[262] reason to fear Tongans than they to fear him. It is rarely that one
hears of a Tongan being injured by a shark, but the shark furnishes
226 many a meal for the Tongan. The native of these islands displays
remarkable intrepidity and skill in the water. In the shark-fishing,
the shark is enticed alongside the boat by singing and calling out and
rattling with coconut shells strung on a stick, and a running noose is
then slipped over his head. If matters are not going smoothly a
member of the crew does not hesitate to jump overboard and attend to
the noose at close quarters.

There is a tradition that an early Tui Tofua was about to kill his 773
son in a fit of jealous anger, but the youth obtained his father's
permission to sail away with some of his people. When they got well 825
out to sea he told the crew to jump one by one into the water. As each
man leapt into the sea he became a shark, of the more harmless variety
called *anga*. The young chief himself was last, and he was turned into
one of the great man-eating sharks called *tenifa*. A Samoan on board,
not relishing the metamorphosis, refused to participate, and returned
and told the tale on shore. Since then the shark has been sacred (*tabu*) [784]
to the Tofua people, and must not be eaten by them, on account of the [262]
relationship subsisting between them. There is still extant a song
referring to this exploit. ! [533]

I have received a brief note regarding the gods of Niua Fo'ou, one 133
of the most distant islands of the Tongan Group, lying midway
between Vavau and Samoa. This is a hilly, volcanic island, with a
lake in an old crator in the middle. It has been the scene of volcanic
outbreak within very recent years.

The note states that the gods of Niua Fo'ou were three in number, 776
namely Pig's Liver, the Octopus, and a large lump of Coral (*Bunga*).
Neither the pig's liver nor the octopus could be eaten by their 262
worshippers. Throughout Tonga the liver is a very special portion of [784]
the pig, and when on important occasions cooked food is presented to
a chief the liver of a pig is taken and ceremoniously placed before him. [565]
Bunga (Coral) is the name of the chief of eastern Tongatabu from 773
whom Motuku-vae-valu, the father of Muni, was hiding when his son
discovered him. Bunga was overcome by that hero in a wrestling
match. This Bunga was the possessor of two enormous *kava* plants,
and of a white flying-fox from whose movements he read auguries.

When Niua Fo'ou became Christian the people threw their coral 778
god into the lake.

There are several gods mentioned by Mariner of which I have not 114
been able to get any independent account. Mariner was best 776
acquainted with Vavau, whereas the foregoing notes deal mainly with
Tongatabu. As a whole, however, the Tongan people fit into a frame- [101]
work which may be constructed in Tongatabu. The chieftainships of
the two northern groups have well understood relations with Tonga- 565
tabu, all deriving ultimately from the Tui Tonga. It is not clear what 634
was the first home of the Polynesians in the group, or what they found 643
on arrival. Tradition points to their having come from Samoa, a
conclusion which is supported by the general evidence of geographical 174
distribution, and to their first settlements having been in the southern
part, though the farthest from Samoa, in Eua and Ata. It is not
impossible, that these southern settlers may have been pre-Polynesian,
and that the acclimatisation of Polynesian myths amongst them was

644 (Lakemba in Fiji). Of this marriage sprang the Tama-ha (Sacred Child), children of the Tui Tonga Fefine, the summit of Tongan society. 175 After Tapuoji the scions of two [565] houses connected with him, the Tui Lakepa, and the Tui Haa-Teiho, were the husbands of the female Tui Tongas, and their families the Tama-ha. [784] Although the connection of the Tui Lakepa and the Tui Haa-Teiho, with Fiji soon became remote, [609] yet the infusion of foreign blood gave them foreignness sufficient to release them from a tabu that would be binding on every pure-blooded Tongan man.[20]

THE TUI KANO-KUPOLU.

643 About the year 1650 Mounga-Tonga, the Tui Haa-Takalaua, made his son Ngata the chief of western Tongatabu, 173 with the title of Tui Kano-kupolu. Ngata was the son of a Samoan lady, Tohuia, the daughter of Ama of Safata. There is a little village in western Tongatabu called Kanokupolu, but the significance of the title is out of all proportion to the importance of its meaning of king of this hamlet. Tohuia, perhaps, brought great prestige with her. It is only in recent years that the express recognition of the connection of the Tui Kano-kupolu with the Tui Manu'a in Samoa has been discontinued. Kupolu is of course identical in form with Upolu, the second largest island of Samoa.

The successful inauguration of the Ngata line, with its great head, the Tui Kano-kupolu, probably signalised the bringing of western Tongatabu into more satisfactory political relations with the lords of eastern Tongatabu, the Tui Tonga, and the Tui Haa-Takalaua. The present Ata, the principal chief of the Haa Ngata, Tribe of Ngata, has told me that chiefs were sent before Ngata to Hihifo (the west), but were slain. Ngata made good his lordship over the westerners. Originally a delegate of the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa-Takalaua, the Tui Kano-kupolu has ended by acquiring the recognised sovereignty of the whole group.

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[20] For the migration of the Tui Lakepa to Tonga see A. M. Hocart, [114] Early Fijians pp. 44-46 (J.R.A.I. Vol. XLIX Jan. to June, 1919). The linguistic argument on p. 46 is, perhaps, too sweeping. There are traces of the article *fe* in Tongan, and it is in use in Niua Fo'ou, where also is found an exclamation **pohopoho**, which recalls the Lauan **polopolo.** The case of Niua Fo'ou, however, does not affect Mr. Hocart's argument, but suggests its close linguistic, and ethnic, affinity with Lau.

to indicate the attitude of mind of the church members. 795
Needless to say the case has its heathen parallels.

Although the worship of the ancient deities is dead, 795
nevertheless there was living in Tongatapu Island in 1921, 178
one Kautai, who had only a few months before been installed 793
as priest of the shark-god Taufa. Though the worship of
Taufa has perished and his sanctuary is no more, still the [554]
title of his priest lives, each patrilinear successor having the
title conferred on him by the reigning monarch. The present
Kautai is a good Roman Catohlic. This perpetuation 178
of ancient titles is common in Tonga. Ancient powerful 554
chiefs are represented to-day by individuals bearing the
same titles, but utterly shorn of power.

Three ancient deities still manifest themselves. One is 776
Fehuluni, a disembodied human spirit, who sometimes appears 787
as a male, sometimes as a female, and usually in a
siren role. A native fired at a feminine manifestation of
this deity with a shot gun, only to find a dead lizard at the
spot where the apparition was seen.

Another deity much feared is the lizard god Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua. His headquarters in Tongatabu are within 784
Catholic precincts, where was formerly his sacred pool. Convent
girls shun the spot, for the evil reputation of the god
for causing feminine ills still lives.

Seketoa, a fish god of Niuatoputapu Island, has been 776
much in evidence in recent years. His incarnation is a great
fish which follows boats near Niuatoputapu. His presence
in those waters is unimpeachably attested by both Tongan
and European observers.

The royal tombs of Tonga are truncated, terraced 764
pyramids, anciently of enormous blocks of coral sandstone.
In recent decades the material utilized has been concrete. [178]
Tongans will not walk over a royal tomb, no matter how [769]
ancient.

Graves of commoners are marked by little terraced 764
mounds decorated with a mosaic of small stones of different 531
colours. To-day the designs are more intricate than
anciently, the coloured linoleum and title advertisements of [177]
magazines having furnished ideas for new geometric designs.

Ghosts now and then manifest themselves as of old. 775
In 1921, a Catholic girl, gathering shellfish with women on

a reef at low tide, suddenly fell down with some sort of 775
seizure. She was removed to the hospital. She declared that the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her violently across the face.

Exorcism for the driving out of spirits from possessed 789
persons is still sometimes practised.

In the central province, Haapai, a man severed his 775
connection with the Free Church and became a Mormon. [795]
His friends and relatives who were Free Church members, declared there would be no rest for his soul. In a few months he died. His widow and a relative were haunted by his ghost, which would rudely awaken them from sleep by shaking them. The nuisance was abated only when they resorted to his grave and broke up his skeleton. His visitations were thought to be a divine punishment for his disloyalty to the Free Church.

On the night following the excavation of some ancient burials on Kao Island the natives who were encamped a hundred yards from the tomb, said they heard wailing at the tomb. It was the " blood " of the deceased ancients bemoaning the removal of their bones.

Anciently the apparition of an illuminated native sailing 763
vessel—a ghost ship—forboded the death of a chief. To-day [178]
European type vessels and even steamers appear as ghost-ships portending death.

In one of the more remote Haapai Islands is at least 784
one Christian minister who places effective tabus on growing 241
crops to prevent the inroads of pigs and rats. The writer has himself seen plantations guarded by both barbed
wire and tabu badges. The latter were observed in two 784
forms. One was a small package of pulverized herbs to [754]
cause illness in the trespasser. The other was a cocoanut
leaf bound on the trunk of a tree as the emblem of Taufa [789]
the shark god. This bore with it the prayer that the trespasser might be bitten by a shark when next he bathed in the sea.

Christianity with its Sabbath and various " shalt nots " 177
has found a ready ally in ancient heathen tabu. The tabu 784
idea has simply been transferred to another set of concepts.
For the same reason quarantines (tabus) against various 744
islands or groups of islands are readily enforced by the
medical authorities to-day. The game laws, too, are heeded 671

136 the exception of an occasional squeaking cry from the whole fraternity, when any troublesome bat fluttered about in search of a new roosting-place. As night approached, all became uproar and commotion. There seemed invariably to be a great deal of debating and manœuvring, before they could finally start on their nocturnal expeditions in search of food. Their return to the grove of *toas* always indicated the near approach of daylight, accompanied as it was by their loud chattering, and the evident contention for convenient roosting-places.
136 On certain occasions, in former times, these animals
825 were *tabu*, or considered sacred by the people.
784 During those seasons, the penalty of death itself
might be inflicted upon any one who should disturb
[778] or destroy them. In this way, one of the Mission-
136 aries, the Rev. Stephen Rabone, well nigh fell a
825 sacrifice to the rage of a heathen chief in Hihifo.
784 At the time, one of the chiefs was lying danger-
797 ously ill, and the bats were then *tabu*. Not know-
ing the law or custom, Mr. Rabone shot one, as it happened to fly over his garden. Shortly afterwards, an enraged relative of the sick man rushed into the Mission House, club in hand, and would certainly have done Mr. Rabone serious personal injury, but for the prompt interference of a Christian Chief of higher rank than himself.

136 Here, as in all tropical countries, insect life swarms, and luxuriates, as much as the vegetation. Many of the insect tribes are doubtless useful to man in their own places; but when they take possession of human habitations, and there multiply profusely, they then become a real plague. Ants, black, white, and red, swarm everywhere, and so do lizards, and beetles of all kinds. Some of these

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graphy of the world, than we are at present aware of. And, in conjunction with that knowledge, there may have been migrations of nations, and the peopling of distant and isolated localities, by those among whom there existed a religion more advanced and enlightened than the debased and puerile belief and worship of modern heathenism. After a lapse of four thousand years, there remains a feeble glimmer of truth amid the fables and traditions of a multitude of distinct and widely-separated tribes of men. The general coincidence of these seems to indicate one common primeval source. There can be no doubt that the Tonguese religion bore, in several particulars, a striking resemblance to the ritual and economy of the Jewish ceremonial law. Indeed, this similarity prevails more or less in the various groups of Polynesia. Nor can it be denied that many of the inhabitants have strongly-marked Jewish features. But it requires further research, and more proof, before we can adopt the conclusion some have come to, that any portion of the people is of Israelitish extraction. A few of these points of resemblance may here be specified as a matter of interest.

1. There obtained among the Tonguese a regular division of time into months and years, these divisions being marked by the recurrence of sacred seasons and public feasts; which were observed with religious ceremony, and were under the sanction of the most rigorous laws. It is also remarkable that the Tonguese have some knowledge of an intercalary month, the use or disuse of which has led to many discussions among themselves. [805] [796] [805]

2. The entire system of *Tabu*, by which times, persons, and places or things were made sacred, [784]

174 and the many religious restrictions and prohibitions [784] connected therewith, may be easily interpreted as a relic, much changed and corrupted, from the ceremonial observances of the Jews.

[796] 3. The great feast of the "*Inaji*," or offering of first-fruits to the gods every year, seems a custom or religious ceremony of purely Jewish origin.

[304] 4. The same may be said of the rite of circumcision, which was regularly practised by them. An uncircumcised person was considered mean and despicable; and the custom has only disappeared in recent years.

[783] [764] 5. Every person and thing that touched a dead body was considered unclean, and remained so until after the lapse of a certain number of days. During that allotted time, those whose duties compelled them to do the rites of burial, were not allowed to feed themselves, or to touch the food prepared by others. They were therefore carefully fed by attendants.

[846] [783] 6. Females, after child-birth, and after other periods of infirmity, were enjoined strict separation; and were subjected to ceremonial purifications.

[778] 7. The Tonguese had cities of refuge, corresponding to those instituted among the Jews; the uses and regulations of which were closely akin to theirs.

[793] 8. The priestly orders and functions resembled, in some of their features, those of the Mosaic law. The *Taula*, or priest, was supposed to become inspired by the god, as his shrine or representative, while receiving and answering the prayers and sacrifices of the worshippers. These were offered [794] through the *Feao*, or attendant upon the Taula;

down and oppressed by that above it. Thus, if a 565
man or family possessed flourishing lands, or a 423
stock of hogs or poultry, or any other kind of 425 [671]
wealth, these were never secure from the covetous
eyes of a superior. At any moment, any portion
of his goods, or all, might be demanded by an
imperious chief, and appropriated to his own purposes.
This system acted as an effectual bar to [241]
general improvement in the cultivation of the soil,
or the acquirement of property, by the mass of the
people. Beside this general right of the chiefs to 565
despoil their inferiors, the king, or his immediate 466
representative, could assess labour upon the entire 643
community, when and how he pleased.

Servile homage was paid to superiors, particularly 565
to priests and chiefs of the highest rank. Neither 554
their persons could be touched, nor their houses
entered, without express permission. Among them
a considerable degree of courtesy prevailed, accompanied
by a refinement of language and demeanour,
which indicated conscious rank. The distinction,
indeed, between themselves and the lower classes, [198]
was marked by these things, more than by any
great superiority in houses, or dress, or food; and
that this distinction might be carried to its farthest
limit, the chiefs had a conventional or courtly dialect,
understood and used only among and to themselves.
Respect for the persons or property of the
common people was unknown, when in conflict
with the covetousness of a superior. If a common 565
man made use of any consecrated property belonging 554
to a chief, or if he came into the presence of a chief 784
with a wreath about his head, or with the head wet,
or should he touch the head of the chief, or reach to
take any object from above where he sat, or should

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

565 place himself in a more elevated position, condign
554 punishment would be the result; in some instances,
784 death itself was the penalty. When journeying, the commoner was required to sit down by the roadside while his superior passed; and, if he were carrying a burden, he must make a *détour* from the road, while, at the same time lowering the burden from his shoulder, he carried it along with every mark of humility.

565 One of these numerous enactments of barbarous
554 etiquette, led to a ludicrous scene in the early years
177 of the Mission in Lifuka. When the first chapel
797 was built and opened, a pulpit was of course indispensable for the occasion. Little did the officiating Missionary think how gravely he was trenching upon sovereign rights, when he ascended the place prepared. Taufa-ahau saw the elevation of the minister with dismay. It would never do for a foreigner, even though he were a Missionary, to violate thus publicly the rules of Tonguese propriety; and so, to meet the difficulty, the king ordered his carpenters to prepare him a pulpit of still loftier elevation, to be placed opposite that of the Missionary, in which he might sit and hear the word of God without any disparagement of his dignity, in the presence of his people. Great, therefore, was the Missionary's astonishment when, on the following Sabbath day, he was confronted by the pulpit of the king, and saw his majesty looking down upon him with a mingled look of drollery and haughty superiority. This he continued to do, until convinced that no intention existed of lowering his authority, and that the pulpit was a necessary and usual part of buildings devoted to the public worship of God.

276 574 643 The cups are called differently. The *matapule* in the Tu'i Tonga ring says, *Koe kava ia 'a me'a,* It is the *kava* of so-and-so. The cup-bearer informs the *matapule* that the cup has been filled, not a man sitting by the bowl as in the Tu'i Kanokupolu's ring.

In the Tu'i Kanokupolu ritual the cup-bearer stoops as the cup is filled, and as he presents it to the one who is called; but in the Tu'i Tonga ritual the cup-bearer sits, both as the cup is being filled, and as he presents it to the drinker.

[516] [554] [565] In the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring the *matapule* sit with their feet covered, hands clasped before them, resting in their laps, and formerly with index fingers together and
[516] [554] [565] extended. In the Tu'i Tonga's *kava* party the *matapule* need not cover their feet, and may dispose of their hands as they please.

Cup-bearers in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring may cross the ring, going or coming with full or empty cups; but in the Tu'i Tonga's ring it was not permitted to cross the ring. It is said that a space was left between the *alofi* and *toua* for the cup-bearers to pass, but it is not clear whether this implies that they had to go and come outside the ring, or whether they could skirt round just inside it.
[789] In any case it is implied that the Tu'i Tonga's *alofi* was *tapu* in a way in which the Tu'i Kanokupolu's is not. The *fono* is taken and eaten by certain *fahu* as in the case of the Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony. An informant mentions the Family of Ma'afu, *Fanau 'a Ma'afu,* whom he calls Rotumans, and the Kau Fale-fa, the *matapules* of the Tu'i Tonga, of Fijian descent, as being able to eat remains of the Tu'i Tonga's food. This, of course, does not imply that they are the people who may eat his *fono.* It is not likely that any living Tongan could reconstruct in its entirety the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring, giving the position of all the chiefs, or even of the principal ones; but the late chief Tamale said that his own position was in the *fasi tapu.* He added that the chief Tafolo was once of equal rank with the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua. In counting the baskets of food presented, in the Tu'i Tonga ceremonial the first basket only is touched, and the remainder merely pointed at. In comment on this it was said that the first basket is for the Tu'i Tonga himself, and he alone is chief. In counting the baskets at a

276 The speakers do not stand to deliver these speeches,
574 but slide forward in two jerks, returning to their places
643 by two backward slides when they have finished.

537 The mats and cloth where the king sits are given to
516 Ata when the ceremony is finished; the king's clothing,
276 *vala*, to Motu'apuaka and Lauaki. Whilst the *kava* is being
574 prepared Motu'apuaka and Lauaki dispute about who is to
643 distribute it. Originally, it seems, there was a contention
565 622 in real earnest, which was finally brought to the test of
[431] who (or whose son) had slain most men in a battle. In
this Lauaki won the pre-eminence, but later gave the honour up to Motu'apuaka, who still holds it. The traditional dispute, however, is part of the ceremony. When the water was ordered at the Queen's installation to mix the *kava*, a number of people jumped up and ran to fetch it. The water was brought from a tank, or other supply, at a little distance; and presently there was a crowd of runners, going and coming, between the water supply and the *kava*-bowl. None brought much at a time. Anyone who had a large container contrived to spill a considerable amount of the water he was carrying before he reached the bowl. In the midst of this bustle there was a certain amount of good-humoured splashing of those engaged in the task.

The explanation given of this custom is that it is to show how large a number of people are eager to fly in the service of the king. All sorts of receptacles are used now-a-days, including buckets, but it is said that formerly only small vessels, such as hollow bamboos, were used. The hibiscus fibre with which the *kava* is strained is supplied in seven portions, a portion each by the Ha'a Ma'afu, the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Havea, the Ha'a Ngata tupu, the Ha'a Ata (Tongatea of Ha'akame), the Ha'a Vaea (Luani of Vava'u), and the Ha'a Maofanga (in Hihifo; Latukefu has charge of this portion).

276 As the Queen moved onto the *mala'e* for her installa-
574 tion she was preceded by a man who ran ahead, brandishing
643 a spear, crouching and looking round. His face was black-
644 ened, and he had the appearance of a scout or guard; but
in his performance was a strong element of burlesque. The
most extraordinary part of his behaviour was during the
[576] actual *kava* ceremony. He was free of all *tapu*, and his
[784] conduct, in other circumstances, would have been shock-
ingly offensive. He smoked, lounged, and walked close

before and behind the Queen's person, and when the pig's 276
liver was placed before her he impaled it on his spear, and 574
ate it. This man is a Fijian (of course the amount of 643
Fijian blood in this particular individual may be but little), 644
belonging to the Ha'a Havea. His name is Moa, and the [576]
same man played the part at the installation of the present [784]
Queen and of her father. Moa is connected with Tu'i-vakano. Of the origin of Tu'i Vakano it is related that a Fijian couple lived with Mataele Ha'amea, the fourth Tu'i Kanokupolu, about the beginning of the eighteenth century. A son was born to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and given to the Fijian couple, becoming the first Tu'i Vakano.

It is said that a man named Soakai is allowed to eat [576]
and smoke in the *kava* party of the Tu'i Tonga chiefs, and he is said to have smoked in the *kava* party of the late king, George Tupou II.

The Kau Fale-fa, the *matapule* of the Tu'i Tonga, were 276
allowed to eat in the *kava* party of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. 574
It is probable that the exemption from ordinary *tapu* en- 643
joyed by these is connected with the fact of foreignness, 644 576
Moa being Fijian, Soakai also, as his name implies, and as 609
is stated by tradition. He is a member of the Fale-fa. (See *Folk-lore*, Vol. 32, No. 1, p. 57.) The Kau Fale-fa, as *matapule* of the Tu'i Tonga, would be privileged in respect of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and tradition, moreover, assigns to them a Fijian descent.

THE TU'I TONGA'S KAVA.

Although the ritual of the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring was, 276
doubtless, much like that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu procedure, 574
there were certain differences. It is difficult to get to-day an 643
exact description of the Tu'i Tonga ritual, but the following known differences from the Tu'i Kanokupolu ritual may be noted.

In the first breaking of the root in large pieces the man doing this work in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring turns toward the king; but in the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring he turns away from the king.

The bowl was turned round the opposite way, so that the hanger pointed toward the king (*fuli taunga*, turning the hanger). The Tu'i Tonga received the second cup, not the third as the Tu'i Kanokupolu does. This cup was not called, but presented in reverent silence.

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ritual became more elaborate, and an educated priesthood officiated. Religious places of worship conformed to three main types.

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(a) Stone structures were characteristic of central, eastern, and northern Polynesia. The main features were a paved or gravelled court usually rectangular in ground plan and a raised platform at one end of the court. Elaboration varied in different regions as to the presence of curbing, walls, stone uprights, stepped platforms, stone seats, houses, images, additional courts and terraces, and special features such as the carved boards *(unu)* of Tahiti and the oracle-tower of Hawaii. Simple forms occurred in the atoll islands, the inland valleys of the Society islands, and the now uninhabited islands of Nihoa and Necker which lie to the north-west of Hawaii. The unroofed court accommodated a select congregation and the raised platform provided a sacred place about which the priests officiated.

In central and part of eastern Polynesia, the structures were referred to as *marae* but there are linguistic indications that the term *marae* more specifically indicated the court while the raised platform was usually distinguished by some form of the term *ahu*. In Easter island, the emphasis was on the raised platform with its stone images, and the term *ahu* seems to have included the whole structure with the sloping pavement in front of the platform. In northern Polynesia, the term *marae* disappeared and the Hawaiian structure received the name of *heiau*.

The thatched buildings that were erected on some courts for the housing of drums, sacred objects, images, and even priests, were accessory to the fundamental stone structure. It is probable that some of the simpler courts had no houses erected on them.

(b) Wooden structures were characteristic of the Tongan and Samoan groups of western Polynesia. They were built on the same architectural plan as the dwelling- and guest-houses which stood on stone platforms. Wooden fences were erected around the house to define a taboo area. The term *malae* (cf. Tahitian *marae)* was not applied to these sacred houses but referred to the village-green where open-air meetings of a purely social nature were held. The stone platform was accessory to the house and

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merely followed the pattern adopted with houses for human occupation. The fundamental element of the religious structure was the house in which sacred objects were kept and in which the priest might reside.

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(c) No specialized structure. New Zealand, the southern region settled by Polynesians, was characterized by the absence of an elaborated pattern of religious structure. The paved *marae* court of central Polynesia with its religious significance was absent, but the term *marae* was applied to an unpaved social court before the village meeting-house. The New Zealand *marae* thus had an affinity with the Tongan and Samoan *malae* in that it formed an assembly-ground for social functions. The religious *ahu* of central Polynesia was divorced from the social *marae*, and under the name of *tuahu (tu-ahu)* was relegated to some selected spot outside the village. The *tuahu* consisted merely of a cleared space, a wooden post, an upright stone, or even of as many as five stones set upright by human agency. More often, however, the *tuahu* was represented by a selected outcrop of rock which the hand of man had no part in providing.

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It is true that the dwelling-house occupied by the priest in New Zealand might be regarded as taboo by the general public from its association and the priest might be consulted there in his religious capacity, but there was no special complex as in western Polynesia. In New Zealand, the house was the house of the priest; but in Tonga, the house was the house of the god. Small sacred houses were erected on one or more piles, in which offerings for the gods were placed on occasions, but such buildings were isolated elements that lacked the definite relationship which existed between the raised wooden platforms *(fata)* for offerings and the religious *marae* in central Polynesia. The Maori seemed to be content to get into touch with his gods without the aid of the elaboration in religious structure which took place in the rest of Polynesia.

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Though the Polynesians created their gods from immaterial beings without innate material form, they associated them with certain material forms that the eye could see. The material representatives of the gods without form of their own may be classed into two groups, animate and inanimate.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

T S 171 776 778

representatives of gods are usually referred to as incarnations; but it must be remembered there is a wide range of belief from their being merely sacred to the gods to their being occupied by the gods. The Maori term for the living representatives is *aria* and the Tahitian is *ata.* Both terms carry the association of form or shadow. The Tongan term applied to them is *vaka* (canoe, receptacle) which is the term applied by the Maori to the priest who was the receptacle that the god entered at times.

T S 784 776 171

Diversity occurs with regard to the question of taboo. Should an individual member of a species be regarded as the god's representative only when functioning, or should the whole species be taboo at all times? In New Zealand, the prevailing concept was that a member of the selected species was regarded as the divine representative when it acted in a significant manner or when a sign was required. Otherwise, any member of an edible species was freely eaten by the worshippers of the god represented by the species. In Tonga and Samoa, the whole species was taboo to all followers at all times. This western attitude comes near to one of the elements of totemism but, even here, it must be remembered that the animal incarnation had never been an ancestor but that it was merely the representative at most of a human ancestor who had been deified.

T S 171 776

The following table, compiled from Collocott[1] and Gifford[2] for Tonga and from Turner[3] for Samoa, gives a list of the kinds of animate representatives utilized in the two groups and the number of gods that used each species:

TABLE 1—ANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES IN TONGA AND SAMOA.

Animate Representative	Tonga	Samoa
Dog	1	1
Flying fox	1	1
Bat	-	2
Pigeons	1	5
Dove	1	-
Rail *(ve'a)*	2	5
Owl	1	4

T S [113] [113] [113]

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[1] Collocott, E. E. V., Notes on Tongan Religion, *J.P.S.*, vol. 30, 1921, pp. 152, 227.

[2] Gifford, E. W., Tongan Society, *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, no. 61, 1929.

[3] Turner, G., Samoa, a Hundred Years Ago, . . . 1884.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

Animate Representative	Tonga	Samoa
Fowl	-	4
Kingfisher	1	2
Heron	2	1
Snipe	1	-
Tern	1	1
Manuali‘i	1	1
Kaleva	1	-
Fuia	-	1
Turtle	-	5
Stingray	-	2
Octopus	2	7
Shark	5	-
Eel	1	4
Sea-eel	2	4
Sea-snake	2	-
Mullet	1	5
Vete	1	-
Cockle	-	1
Shell-fish *(fuhu)*	1	-
Sea-urchin	-	1
Land crab	-	1
Lizard	2	3
Centipede	-	2
Butterfly	-	1
	31	64

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Human form occurred with three gods in Tonga and with five in Samoa. These were spiritual or ghostly forms and cannot be classed as animate representatives, even though they were credited with movement. The human living representative was strictly speaking the inspirational priest when possessed by the god.

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Natural phenomena in the form of the moon (3), rainbow (2), star (1), lightning (1), and cloud (1), occurred in Samoa as representatives of the gods, but they have not been recorded for Tonga by the authorities consulted. Though not living representatives, they could yet convey information from their appearance and apparent movement.

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Some representatives such as sea-urchins and shell-fish were probably merely taboo to the god or, in other words, could not be eaten by the god's worshippers.

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(To be continued.)

[pp. 54-84 not processed]

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE SUPERNATURAL IN TONGA

By E. E. V. COLLOCOTT

IT is no longer possible to observe at first-hand the ritual of 121
Tongan worship. Even the names of the gods are well nigh [771]
forgotten. All that will be attempted here is to bring together
a few of the conceptions of the old Tongan when he came to have
dealings with the invisible world, adding little, probably nothing, to
the general sum of information respecting Polynesian beliefs, but
merely supplying a few points for comparison from a region which
has not been so fully described as some others.

TABU

GENERAL REMARKS

The main island in the Tongan Group is marked on the maps as 103
Tongatabu, though locally it is most often called simply Tonga. Very
frequently, however, it is called Tongatabu, sometimes Tonga Lahi
(Great Tonga), or Tonga Eiki (Chiefly Tonga). It probably owes 781
its appellation of "tabu" to the fact that it is the residence of the 565
great chiefs, those who in the beginning descended from heaven, the [103]
offspring of a mortal woman and a god. These chiefs are the fount [829]
and source of chiefly influence and prestige, the head of the sacred
polity of the group in its practical working. Natives say that the
people of the northern groups of Haapai and Vavau would remark
on the incessant tabus imposed on them when they visited Tonga on
account of the proximity of the high chiefs. That can have happened, however, only in the immediate entourage of these great lords.

The idea of tabu itself is twofold, or has a twofold aspect, indi- 784
cating firstly sacredness, that which is *nefas,* frequently equivalent to 778
the holiness by which our English Bibles render the Hebrew *qadosh,*
the mysterious perilousness and unapproachableness which surrounds
mystic power. Besides this uncanny essence of the occult tabu em-

braces concretely the body of prescriptions which regulate the conduct 784
of man in his relations to tabu persons and things. 778

Besides the simple word tabu there are several compounds in common use, the reduplicated form *tobutabu* which indicates a high degree of sacredness, as does also the word *tabuha*. There is the verb *tabui* which means "to place under a tabu," and the noun *tabuaki*, with corresponding adjective *tabuckina* and verb *tabuakii*, which are used now with the sense of bless, though if that be the precise ancient signification I am unable to say. These words are used frequently in Christian worship though I do not remember to have seen the three last in an old document. Possibly their meaning is "to invest with sacredness."

The range of ideas included under tabu is very wide, varying from the religious sanctity of gods and chiefs to the working of sympathetic magic. In its practical application to daily life it is a system of prohibitions, 784 widening to meet the demands of religious, social, and industrial activities. Some tabus, therefore, should be studied rather for the light they throw, for example, on social organisation than as elements in definite religious practice, but whether the tabu be to ensure a satisfactory yam harvest, or to preserve the purity of social relations, or to regulate the approach of man to his gods, the sanction is in all cases supernatural, safeguarded by laws beyond mortal ken, though man may frequently rid himself, and in some cases even forestall, the uncanny vengeance of the violated tabu. Although civilised and scientific man may classify the phenomena into various groups, to primitive man they are all part and parcel of the same thing, the relation of man with the great and often terrifying body of the unknown, all included under the same word and regarded with the same awe. There is no doubt that in some directions native ideas must have been rather vague as to what would be the consequences of neglected tabus, as experimental evidence was obviously not easily come by.

From before his birth till his death, or after it, primitive man is surrounded by prohibitions of mystic sanction. It must not be imagined, however, that at the stage of development at which Tongans had arrived freedom was so curtailed, or the mind so filled with shadowy

dread, as to make life wretched. There were many tabus, but some 784
of them resulted from the mistaken premisses of primitive science,
and however ineffective their observance may have been they imposed
no more toil on the laborer than a due regard to scientific agriculture
entails on the white farmer. Rather less toilsome perhaps were they,
but less useful. Again, in the matter of social relations the Tongan
enjoyed in some respects a greater liberty than did his Christian contemporary,
whilst the duties imposed by religion proper were neither
oft recurring nor excessively burdensome. The fear of hell which
many a primitive man has exchanged for his heathenism would seem
a motive for more harrowing dread than any supplied by his discarded
beliefs. A mild climate, abundant rainfall, and fertile soil, in the
fruits of which all might share, went far to assure physical contentment,
and, though the modern tendency is certainly not to underrate
the importance of economic factors in national and cultural development,
their potency in promoting material well-being is not likely to
be overstated.

In passing it may be remarked that Christianization frequently 784
means for primitive man the carrying over to a new set of objects 797
much of the old manner of thought. Thus Sunday, called in Tongan
by the Jewish name Sabbath, "Sabate," is the tabu day. The prohibitions
against labor in the Fourth Commandment are naturally and
properly rendered in the Tongan version of the Bible (which by the
way is called the Tabu Book) as labor being tabu on the seventh day,
and this idea of the tabu day is more easily assimilated and more
strictly enforced than many of the more positive precepts of Christian
teaching. A Tongan will not so much as pluck a flower or break a
branch from a shrub on that day. Again, church buildings are tabu. 778
The practice, not infrequent in white countries, especially in rural 784
districts, of holding social gatherings in church buildings at which 797
food and drink are served would be entirely repugnant to Tongan
thought. From regard to sacredness, also, water from church roofs
is not stored or used. It is said that a few years ago a child died in
one of the Haapai Islands through drinking water which had dripped
from a church roof into an empty tin placed under the eaves.

BIRTH AND PUBERTY

Before his birth the Tongan is protected by tabus which show the 784
working of sympathetic magic. The expectant mother must not put 843
any sort of girdle or necklace about her neck lest in labor the umbilical
cord become entangled around the child's neck. The coconut for
her to drink must be properly opened. There are two ways of opening 272
a nut, one by piercing the little round eye at the stalk end, and
the other by striking off the bottom of the nut, thus making a hole
usually about two inches across. The pregnant woman must drink 784
only nuts pierced at the top. Should she drink one opened by the 843
other method her child's mouth will gape like the gaping coconut. [272]
She must not cut anything with a knife. Should she neglect this
precaution her child will be marked by some sympathetic deformity,
e.g., the hand may be deformed as though the fingers had been shorn
off. She must not sit in the doorway of a house, lest, as she is
partly within and partly without the house, her child's face reflect
this local ambiguity by being differently formed on the two sides.
The pregnant woman must allow no temptation to induce her to steal,
as the child is sure to bear the mark of theft. Should the mother, [626]
for instance, steal a fowl and prepare it for the oven the child's legs
may be trussed up like the fowl's, and so on of other thefts and their
appropriate stigmata. In 1920 a woman bore a child whose hands
were deformed as though the fingers had been cut off. She was
questioned, and confessed that during her pregnancy she had stolen
and cut up a fowl. These prohibitions for a pregnant woman apply [593]
with especial force against unauthorized meddling with her husband's
possessions, though if she obtain his permission to use anything belonging
to him she may do so without fear.

After confinement both mother and child are smeared with turmeric, 846
and the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five 784
nights, or, as we should say, five days. Bathing was also prohibited
for a fixed period, in this case three nights, after a boy had undergone
the operation of supercision, which is performed at the approach
of puberty. After three nights the boy goes to the sea and bathes,
this bathing having been called in my hearing, though doubtfully, the
tabu bath. At about the same time the long lock of hair left on a [302]

boy's head seems to have been cut. This practice of leaving a long 784
lock is now obsolescent. One still sees it, but not frequently. It is 302
said that the hair of the girls used to be cut short on the crown and [846]
left long at the sides, but that at puberty the hair was cut the same [881]
length all over and then allowed to grow. This treatment of the
girl's hair has become even more rare than the boy's long lock and
I am unable to say that I have seen any undoubted example.

Amongst the gifts at a wedding are mats, presented by the bride's 585
relatives, on which the young couple shall lay their children when
born. The happy pair rarely, if ever, use this thoughtful gift for its
ostensible purpose, and indeed do not keep it for themselves at all,
but let it go in the general distribution of presents at the wedding
ceremony. For some days prior to the marriage of high chiefs, the 585
length of time varying according to the period before the guests begin 565
to arrive, native cloth for towels, and candle-nuts (with which the 515
Tongans prepare a favorite detergent) are presented to both bride
and bridegroom. The interesting statement has been made that the
cloth and mats used by the bride in bathing were afterwards given to
the bridegroom, but this has been categorically denied by the chief
whose marriage called forth the statement, and as few have taken a
deeper interest in ancient Tongan ceremonial, or are better versed in
it, his ignorance of any such practice cannot be lightly set aside. In
his opinion the cloth and candle-nuts were presented to the bride and
bridegroom for them to cleanse and beautify themselves for each
other. He added that there is always the possibility that they will
not be so used, and that in any case they are distributed to the guests
with the other presents. It should be added that the portion of the 585
wedding gifts which ultimately falls to the lot of the bride and bride- 565
groom may be very small.

It is time, however, to return to our new-born infant, whose cord 844
has not yet been cut. The cutting of the cord was performed by the [592]
male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord conveniently, and as paterfamilias struck it asunder with an axe he uttered a wish for the future career of the child—that a boy might grow up a great warrior or fisherman, that a girl might be beautiful, and so forth. The paternal benediction not infrequently called for

success in love in the case both of boys and girls. The severed cord, 844
as Mr. McKern has informed me, is carefully buried in some recognizable place, e.g., in a mound if there be one conveniently close, or the spot may be marked by planting a tree or shrub.

SOCIAL TABUS

Social life is guarded by tabus which in their most general form 784
forbid an inferior to touch his superior. Dr. Martin remarks (in 565
Mariner's *Tonga*), "Every chief also pays the greatest respect to- 784
wards his eldest sister, which respect he shows in an odd way, viz., 605
by never entering the house where she resides; but upon what exact 593
principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned." [565]
This tabu noted by Mariner between brother and sister is not confined to the eldest sister, but is general. "Brother" and "sister" are of course misleading terms if understood with their English connotation. Distant cousins are included, and "collateral relatives" would better translate the Tongan words. But using "brother" and "sister" with the breadth of the corresponding Tongan terms we find that brothers and sisters are tabu to each other. A brother, if he enter a room where his sister is sitting, must keep at a distance from her, and so of the sister coming upon her brother. If a man is sitting talking to other women his sister must not approach the party at all. This tabu upon the intercourse of brothers and sisters 605
is not entirely incompatible with cousin marriage, which may take 582
place with the approval of the relatives on either side whose prerogative it is to secure a match for the couple concerned. When the match has been arranged the hitherto tabued "brother" and "sister" may be brought together and mated. Quite recently a youth and maid, distantly related, set their affections on each other, but when their love, which was very innocent, became known the relatives failed
to smile. The girl's real brother in particular professed himself [593]
filled with shame, and the unhappy swain carried his embarrassment and stricken heart to another island. Tongan resentment, however, is short, life has resumed its normal course, and the youth has returned, though he appears to have left his unlucky passion in the place of his temporary exile.

The form of cousin marriage most favored is that of a man to 582
his mother's brother's daughter, though other forms are possible. 605
None of these relationship terms must be understood as connoting
necessarily the same closeness of connection as in English. Cousin [565]
marriages are more common amongst chiefs than amongst the rank
and file, and it is said indeed that when such marriages occur amongst
the people it is in imitation of the chiefs.

Considering the social status of women the foregoing tabu between 784
brother and sister may be part of the general system wherein 562
the superior is tabu to the inferior, though old legends make it more 584
probable that, at least in comparatively ancient times, the safeguard [554]
was against incest as such, though this is not in itself necessarily the
explanation of the origin of the very stringent Tongan sentiment
against marriage of close relatives. With reference to the expression
"close relatives" a Tongan once remarked to me, "We count as
closely kin those whose common ancestry is even four generations
back."

A tabu still regarded is that of not eating or drinking the remains 784
of food or drink of a superior. The penalty for the violation of this 554
rule is a sore throat, which can, however, be cured by being stroked 264
by the superior whose victuals have caused the trouble, or by one of 753
still higher rank. A person suffering from a sore throat, which he 755
suspects to have been caused in this way, will take a short cut to cure
by resorting at once to the highest chief available. In earlier days
the cure used to be effected by an application of the chief's foot to
the sore spot, but the hand has been found equally efficacious and is
now usually employed. Should anyone desire to help himself from
the platter of a superior the unseen powers may be cheated by a little
simple collusion. After the inferior has helped himself to the tabued
viands an immediate application of the superior's hand will ward off
all unpleasant consequences. It is in the item of drinking a coconut [272]
after another that this tabu seems to be most regarded, possibly because
sharing a coconut is fairly common, but more probably because
the coconut, being completely closed round but for one small opening,
is a peculiarly fit receptacle to retain the influence emanating from
the drinker. A similar idea to this is found in Fiji and will be [171]
noted later.

The tabus relating to contact with the body of a superior are nat- 784
urally most marked in reference to high chiefs, but the respect paid 565
to chiefs seems to be part and parcel of the general social system, 576
throughout which the gradations of rank are well known.

The head and back are the most sacred portions of a chief's body. [826]
No one will touch the head of a superior nor pass close behind his
back without apology. In the case of a great chief he would not
pass there at all. In certain great ceremonial kava drinkings there 276
is a high chief who sits, not in the ring where the majority of the 574
chiefs have their place, called the *alofi*, but in the portion of the 576
ground where the kava is prepared, called the *toua*. But although 565
this chief is called the chief of the *toua*, he sits by himself at some
distance to the rear and side of the group who are brewing the drink,
so that all work in connection with the ceremony is performed without
anyone's passing behind him. So in the *alofi* the attendants as they
come and go always pass within the circle, before the chiefs, and
never outside, behind them.

Eating and drinking in the presence of a high chief of greatly 264
superior rank to oneself is tabu. A great chief himself may experi- 565
ence this inconvenience in the presence, e.g., of the king. This has 576
been noted by old voyagers, and an example came under my notice 554
within recent years. A white lady invited the late king of Tonga 643
and a couple of high chiefs to dinner. One of them was able to eat
freely in the presence of His Majesty, but the other, a robust young
man who might have been expected to own a healthy appetite, toyed
with his food in embarrassment. Afterwards he laughingly remon-
strated with his hostess for her unkindness in setting such an excel-
lent dinner before him in the presence of the king, where he was
unable to do justice to it. This tabu against eating in the presence
of a high chief may be overcome by retiring to a short distance and
turning the back to the great lord.

Leaving the matter of eating and drinking to return to respect to 565
the person of superiors, we find that if a chief be sitting with some 554
utensil close behind him which the people about wish to use, their 576
only hope is that the chief will himself notice their predicament and
tell someone to come and take what is required. Otherwise they

must make shift to obtain elsewhere a utensil fitted for their purpose. 565

A strict regard to the tabu surrounding the persons of superiors 576
would introduce almost intolerable inconveniences into the relations 554
of intimate domestic life, but although there is considerable relaxa- 593
tion the tabu of the head and face is observed fairly strictly. A 576
father's head is tabu to his child. There may be Tongan fathers who would pick up their children and let them pull their moustaches or hair as many a white father does, but they can not be numerous. The Tongan father does not nurse and caress his child as freely as the European father does. There are doubtless other considerations operative, of which, by the way, lack of natural affection is not one, but probably the most potent reason is the tabu of the father's person.

DEATH

In the treatment of the dead the working of these ideas is clearly 764
seen. The body is prepared for burial by those of family rank supe- 554
rior to that of the deceased, who had been able to approach him freely during his lifetime. Relatives and friends of inferior rank will pay a farewell visit to the deceased shortly after death, but the visit is short, and during it they sit at a respectful distance in that part of the room towards which the feet of the body are pointing. The visitors may indeed kiss the face of their dead friend (probably an innovation since the introduction of Christianity), but after bestowing the kiss they at once retire to a proper distance. There are those who kiss, not the face, but the feet of the deceased. Ordinarily the body is prepared for burial by those whose relations to the deceased enable them to approach him freely, and they suffer no inconvenience
from the contact. In the case of high chiefs, however, the last offices [565]
are of necessity performed by those of inferior social status, and [784] ●
their hands are thereafter tabu for a certain period, during which the [264]
tabued person may not feed himself. It has not often been the fortune of Europeans in these latter days to see a person with tabued hands, but the Rev. C. P. Walkden Brown, late Chairman of the Methodist Mission, who left the group in 1908, was on one occasion present at a Tongan feast in company with a man under this interdict.

The rites in connection with the burial of great chiefs have fortu- 764

THE TUI TONGA

The Tui Tonga when travelling was frequently borne on a litter, 643
though land on which he stood, or houses into which he entered, did [493]
not become tabu and therefore unavailable to their former possessors
or users. Mats and cloth which he used seem not to have returned
to their former owners, but to have become the property of the Tui
Tonga. Such articles he seems frequently to have passed over to his [644]
retinue. The tabus surrounding the Tui Tonga's person were of
course strict. The London Missionary Society's missionaries who 643
arrived in the *Duff* in 1797 relate that the Tui Tonga going into their 302
house in western Tongatabu requested that they shave him. This [778]
ceremony of the toilette was performed, but until everything was
safely finished the natives about were in the greatest trepidation lest
some of the sacred hair should fall to the ground. The operation of 643
supercision could not be performed in Tonga on the Tui Tonga. He 304
had either to go without the operation or visit Samoa or Fiji for the
purpose.

CEREMONIOUS SPEECH

An interesting example of the tabu surrounding the great chiefs 565
is seen in the opening of ceremonial speeches in their presence. The 537
speaker clears away, group by group, the tabus that would prevent 195
his speaking. He says "Tabu for such a one," using an expression 784
which it is exceedingly difficult to render into English, but whose
real significance seems to be, "With all due regard to the tabu of
So-and-so." This introductory apology having been completed the
speaker will say, "It is now permissible for me to go on with my
speech." There are two important sets of these tabu formulae, one [643]
for the Tui Tonga chiefs and the other for the Tui Kanokubolu, but
naturally enough the practice of thus prefacing a speech is widely
extended. In sermons, ordinary addresses, and in conversation, anything which the speaker feels should be introduced "saving the presence of" his auditors will be introduced with this apologetic preface.
Especially is this the case when mentioning bodily infirmities to a 784
person of superior rank. A commoner would scarcely mention at all 576
a physical defect of a chief to whom he was speaking, at any rate 753
without the license of intimately friendly conversation, but in men- 521 565

tioning the ailments of himself or of some other person, at last coming 784
to a point where description languishes for lack of an outright 576 753
term, the dreadfully blunt truth must be told, "Tabu to you," and 521
the exact condition of a leg or an eye is detailed. Matters which are 565
treated with great reticence by Europeans are discussed by mixed [171]
companies of Tongans with perfect freedom and complete absence
of embarrassment.

INSTALLATION OF TUI KANOKUBOLU

No important ceremony is conducted without kava drinking, and 276
in the preparation and serving of the kava is seen the flower of 574
Tongan ceremonialism. Usages vary in the two great houses of the 643
Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokubolu. The modern consolidation of 643
the kingdom has confirmed the power of the Tui Kanokubolu, and
the office of Tui Tonga, although the higher in rank, has been abolished.
In 1918 the present queen ascended the throne of her island [642]
kingdom with the title of Tui Kanokubolu, the title which was borne
by her predecessors in the sovereignty of this now constitutional (on
European lines) state. Besides a European crowning there was also 643
an installation by the old kava ceremony. This was anciently performed 644
at Kanokubolu, whence the title of Tui Kanokubolu (King of
Kanokubolu) is derived. Kubolu is the same word as the Samoan [173]
Upolu, and legend asserts that this line is descended from a Samoan
woman and a Tongan chief. Kano is a root found in words meaning
"flesh," "body." The late Dr. Moulton renders Kanokubolu as
"Heart of Upolu." In Kanokubolu the king used to be installed
with his back towards a certain tree, and the ancient requirements
have been met in modern practice by letting a piece of wood from
the traditionary tree into the back of the throne. The water for 643
brewing the kava was on this occasion brought by a great number of 644
runners from a supply a short distance away. So freely and with 276 574
such obvious intention was water spilt as to suggest a charm, but
good Tongan authority asserts that the water was spilt so that each
man might arrive at the bowl with but little, and that the whole proceeding
might be marked by the maximum of bustle and activity on
the part of as great a number as possible to show the numbers and

zeal of the queen's followers. The strainers (bunches of wild hibis- 643
cus fibre) were provided by special groups whose prerogative it was, 644
and represented certain chiefly families. 276 574

During the ceremony three conventional speeches were delivered 644
by three chiefs belonging to the Tui Kanokubolu group, who each 537
before speaking slid forward without rising, with two little jerks, 565
returning in the same manner to his place when his speech was fin- [516]
ished. These speeches followed traditional forms, and were exhortations to the Tui Kanokubolu and the people to do their duty to the Tui Tonga chiefs. The first referred to shell-fishing, the second to the bonito fishing, and the third to the fruits of the soil.

An interesting feature of these ceremonies was a man belonging 644
to a family which is connected with Fiji, who was decked out like a 643
Fijian warrior. He preceded the royal procession to the ground by 784
about a hundred yards or so, crouching and running and looking 576
about like an outpost spying out the enemy. When the queen was [276]
seated he violated all tabus and rules of ordinary decency by taking [264]
up his station near her, passing freely behind or before her, smoking whilst standing or lounging close beside her, and finally, when the pig's liver which is customarily offered to the chief on such occasions was put before the queen, he broke off a piece on the point of his spear and ate it in her presence.

The sanctity of the great chiefs is well illustrated in an interesting 643
native manuscript which was made available to me by the kindness of 784
the Hon. W. Tungi and Mr. E. W. Gifford. In these notes the 192
special words applied to the highest chiefs, the Tamaha and the Tui Tonga, are called the *tobutabu* insignia, the most sacred insignia. Since the institution of monarchy on the European pattern the Tui Tonga words are applied to the reigning sovereign.

FISHING

Industries have their own tabus. I have been told that formerly 784
a woman must not step over the green shoot of a sprouting yam, 824
though this is not now regarded, and young women of the present 241 562
generation whom I have questioned know nothing of it. It was also 784
tabu for anyone to step over a fishing net whilst it was being made. 226

Presumably if men passed from one side to the other of the net the 784
fish would do the same. The various sweet-smelling flowers which 226 825
are used to adorn and scent the leaf-girdles which are always worn
on festival occasions by both men and women, but particularly by the 292
women, are protected by a tabu belonging to the range of sympathetic 824 784
magic. Flowers that have been used in the leaf-girdle must not be
burnt before they are quite dead and dried up. Should this tabu be
violated the tree from which the burnt blossoms were taken will
thereafter be useless for supplying flowers for the girdles, and any
blooms plucked from it will quickly fade. It is only the individual
tree which is affected, and flowers from other trees of the same
species will retain their scent and freshness as before.

Fishing, an important industry of the inhabitants of these tiny 226
islets, and one moreover subject to alternations of success and failure, 784
of calm tranquillity and boisterous hazard, from causes which it is
frequently difficult either to foresee or to explain, retains in large
measure its old safeguard of tabus. If a man be out fishing and
someone inquire of his wife where he is she must not tell. Better to
sacrifice the truth than her husband's luck. This tabu, however, is
now falling into disregard. The best known tabus are those concerning
the bonito and the shark. The bonito whose origin, or at 226
the least first arrival in Tongan waters, has a supernatural connection 784
with the Tui Haangana, the chief of the island of Haano in Haapai, 825 [622]
will not suffer himself to be caught off that island if the chief ventures
outside his house whilst bonito are in the vicinity. A similar [622]
tabu keeps one of the chiefs of the eastern end of Tongatabu within
doors when the bonito appears. There is also a proper order for the
disposal of the first-fruits of the bonito fishing in Tongatabu before
the fish is available for the people at large.

Of no fishing is the ritual more exact and more flourishing today
than that attending the pursuit of the shark. The most perfect harmony,
even of thought and sentiment, must prevail amongst the
fishermen and amongst their friends and relatives ashore. Discord [828]
or the hidden rancor of the heart is fatal to success. A young woman
relates that in her childhood, as a party of shark-fishers were setting
out, she cried to be taken with her father who was a member of the

expedition. Every means was tried to pacify the child, but in vain. 226
The situation was extremely awkward. On the one hand was the 784
difficulty of taking the girl, and on the other the futility of hoping to 825
take a shark if she were left weeping ashore. Finally, as the child
refused to be comforted, she was perforce taken on board. The [113]
shark-fishing has been described in his book *Chez les Méridionaux du Pacifique,* by His Lordship Bishop Blanc of the Catholic Mission in Tonga, or P. Soane Malia as His Lordship was called at the time of publication.[1] Before the expedition sets out a house ashore is shut up and becomes tabu. "This house had just been carefully shut, shortly before the departure of the fishermen. It was that of the head man. Its being closed and the departure of its owner gave it a mysterious character; it became 'house of the fishing,' that is to say a place to which approach was forbidden to everybody until the return from the fishing." The shark is taken by a running noose on the end of a line, and is enticed alongside the boat by sounding with the coconut-shell rattle formed by threading coconut-shells on a stick, and by the fishermen calling out. The crew not only call to the shark to come, but add many blandishments, with flattery of its beauty and wily promises of high festival ashore. The subsidiary inducement of a piece of roast pork displayed outboard is not wholly discountenanced.

When the shark has once come alongside his fate is usually sealed. The noose is slipped dexterously over his head, and if necessary a man will even jump into the sea to make a better adjustment of the cord. Non-success in this sport is attributed to broken tabus. On the occasion which Bishop Blanc describes nine sharks were taken, and it may be best to quote a little of the conversation which he had with the head of the expedition after its return:

"And you have done this (i.e., called and taken a shark) nine times?"

"Yes."

"And the shark always comes? It always obeys?"

"When it does not come that is a bad sign. There is something in fact which prevents the shark from coming."

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[1] It was published by Librairie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte, Lyons and Paris, 1910.

"And what then?" 226

"When it does not come there is nothing to do but return to shore, 784
because that is the proof that someone has violated the tabu of the 825
closed house, or perhaps that one of us has some grudge or anger in [828]
his heart. So we must go and correct what is amiss, and then the
fishing may recommence."[1]

The shark indeed is a great searcher of the heart, and the man [776]
who attempts to approach the cavern where resides the great shark- [828]
god of the island of Eua will find himself unable to reach the spot
should his heart be not as it should be. Although particularly notable
in the case of the shark the same type of idea is found in fishing gen-
erally. Persistent ill-luck gets a boat a bad reputation which reflects [828]
more on the ethical qualities of crew and owners, and of the boat
herself, than on their skill as fishermen. "The fishing is accursed;
let us go ashore."

Gardens were protected by tabus. Frequently a coconut-leaf rep- 784
resentation of the shark was put up on the trunk of a tree, which was 825
as effective as turning the shark-god Taufa loose in the garden. It is [241]
stated that Taufaahau, better known to Europeans as King George I— [643]
under whom, after many years of strife, Tonga became a homo- [797]
geneous kingdom with Christianity universally and firmly established [776]
throughout the group—experimented with some of these tabu signs
to assure himself of the impotency of the old gods, and also made the
more daring test of swimming out to the opening in the reef of the
island of Lifuka in Haapai and shouting defiance to the sharks.

SIN

A general idea of the sort of conduct that was ethically right is 673
obtained by attention to the words which indicate wrong-doing. This [682]
is too lengthy an inquiry to be entered on in any detail in this place, [684]
but to inquiries as to what conduct would be formerly included under
the word *hia*, which is commonly translated "sin" but is today too
much mixed up with the modern machinery of law-courts to afford a
clear idea of its ancient significance, it was answered murder and
connection with the wife of a man of superior rank to the offender.

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[1] Op. cit., pages 59 and 60.

the omen were good or evil. The portent was of bad tidings, and 787
Bunga returned to shore with all possible speed to find that his harem 825
had been ravished (success in the feats of love, as in those of war, 539
being here as elsewhere a mark of the legendary hero), and two
great kava plants which had stood near his house torn up and carried
away. Bunga pursued Muni, but in the contest which followed he
was defeated though not slain.

Old travelers mention a wooden bowl used for divination. The 787
Introduction of the *Voyage of the Duff* in referring to Tasman's
visit says, "An elderly chief who seems at that time to have had
sovereign authority . . . was highly gratified by the presents made
him. Among them was a wooden bowl, probably the same that long [695]
afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo as a divining
cup to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which
is rendered to the sovereign when present was paid during his absence
to the bowl, as his representative." Later on in the same Introduction 643
it is stated that the king, dining with Captain Cook on board the latter's 784
vessel, was presented by him with a pewter plate, which he said
he would substitute for the bowl "which had before sustained the
offices of chief justice and viceroy." This pewter plate was still in
use at the time of Mariner's residence in Tonga, and Mariner speaks
of it as used to remove the tabu from those who had come in contact
with the Tui Tonga. "If anyone is tabooed by touching the person
or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him
from his taboo, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid
the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or
some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched,
instead of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left
a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by
Captain Cook." Probably the account of the bowl or dish representing
the Tui Tonga in other affairs besides the removal of tabu
is correct. It should in any case be fairly easy to avoid incurring
tabu by contact with the Tui Tonga's person during his absence.

Augury of an informal sort was often resorted to much as it is 787
by some Europeans. The first native Christian teachers on their way 797
from Tongatabu to Haapai, which was still heathen, set themselves

36: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1921
OU9 Tonga OU9

without eating. At length the Tuitonga noticed this, and asked 539 the reason. Tuimotuliki explained that he could not eat the mullet, for it was made tabu to him when he was bathed at home in his own country in Fiji. Thereupon the Tuitonga requested that the tabu might be given to him too, that he might share in it. But Tuimotuliki demurred, saying, "Why my lord should you be tabued, seeing that you catch that fish in your net? Why should you be prevented from eating it?" But the Tuitonga insisted. "Is there any lack of fish?" he retorted. "Why should I be so anxious to eat that fish? Let me share your tabu, and we can eat other sorts of fish." So Tuimotuliki gave way, and admitted the Tuitonga to his tabu, as a sign of his affection for Fiji. Thereupon the Tuitonga 539 sent word to the different parts of the Tongan group, announcing that the mullet was tabu to the men, and that those who ate 262 it would suffer from blindness, and ulceration, and pox, and 784 baldness, and leprosy. The women alone were exempted from the tabu. (I have never seen or heard anything of such a tabu. The mullet is freely eaten to-day, both in Tonga, and I think in Fiji. Of course the old tabus are largely things of the past, [178] but I have not seen any indications of a recollection of such a tabu. I have not, however, made special inquiries relative to this particular one. Recollections of some old food tabus, no longer practised are preserved amongst some of the people who have interested themselves in these matters, but all I have so far encountered have been of local operation, and I have not found any of such universality as the statement in the text would seem to imply. The mullet at any rate is eaten with freedom and relish).

Thereafter the crew of the boat from Fiji multiplied and 539 became numerous. The descendants of Tuimotuliki are the folk called the Tuitalau, their names being Fainga'a, Tuitavake, Mo'ungatonga, Mapu, Siliika, and Tulukava, the last being a female name. The descendants of Nokelevu are Soakai, Kavakavalangi, Havea, Tukuafu, Funaki-oe-langi. And the descendants of Balusa, who was called Alusa in Tonga, are Ahio, Fakahafua, and Veamatahau. This is the descent of those who are sacred, and who are called the Pure. They

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 Nuku'alofa—the modern capital of Tonga) has been on Tongatapu; it was from there that the absolute monarch, the *Tu'i Tonga* or King ruled—his dynasty beginning over a thousand years ago with 'Ahoeitu, the first *Tu'i Tonga* who was also considered to be a direct descendant of the gods.

[178] Though the *Tu'i Tonga*, as such, no longer exists today, it is important to have an understanding of some of the aspects of the position of the *Tu'i Tonga* and the evolution of the *Tu'i Tonga* line over the years in order to gain some insight into Tonga's present political structure, which is intricately interwoven with that of the past.

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784
As supreme temporal and spiritual ruler of all the chiefs and people of Tonga, the *Tu'i Tonga* was regarded as a god, and therefore many rituals and

[p. 27-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 288]

643 taboos were connected with his position. Because no
644 one was allowed to touch his food or body, he was
784 often carried about on a litter, and ceremonies of obeisance were performed towards him (e.g. *moimoi,* wherein the subject knelt down and placed the soles of the chief's feet on the subject's head, figuratively showing in humility and respect that he
643 was beneath the monarch). Some of the things
[304] which were peculiar to the *Tu'i Tonga* included the
[195] fact that he was neither tattooed nor circumcised as others were, he was referred to or spoken to with a
[412] special vocabulary, he ate the meat of green
[301] coconuts with a distinctive implement (a freshly cut
[302] stick from the *toi* tree), he wore a unique type of flower garland called the *lala heilala,* and his hair was trimmed by being singed with a hot coal.[8]

[644] To prevent contamination of the royal line with

[p. 28-B]

643 commoners' blood, the wives of the *Tu'i Tonga* were
[644] most often chosen from among the families of
powerful chiefs or else from among foreigners, and
his principal wife received the distinguished title,
[755] *Moheofo.* It was not unusual for small children to be
sacrificed as an appeal for the gods' merciful
[782] intervention in the event of the *Tu'i Tonga*'s illness.

Upon the death of the *Tu'i Tonga,* every
643 individual in the Kingdom had his head shaved, and
766 quite elaborate mourning rites took place, including
the burial of certain individuals with the monarch's
body. For about eight months following the death
● [784] of the *Tu'i Tonga,* there was such extensive feasting
[262] and mourning that a taboo (chiefs, only, exempted)
had to be imposed upon certain staples like
coconuts and hogs in order to prevent a food
shortage; the taboo was lifted at the end of the

[p. 28-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 298]

643 lengthy mourning period by a formal observance
766 called *Fakalahi.*[9]
[784] The first fruits of the season were presented
annually to the *Tu'i Tonga* in the solemn, traditional
[262] ceremony—*'Inasi.* These tributes of food in
643 incredible quantities were actually gifts to the gods,
651 for whom the *Tu'i Tonga* was sole earthly agent. In
[796] the ceremony, thanks were given to the gods and
prayers were offered to insure the gods' protection
and their favor for future plentiful harvests.
[784] Succeeding harvests and success in other ventures
supposedly depended upon the execution of the
'Inasi (literally, portion or share), for if it was not
performed, the people believed that the gods would

[p.29-B]

643 bring devastation upon Tonga. By 1810, however,
651 the political system had decentralized and changed
[784] such that the *'Inasi* was discontinued.

[178] Being absolute lord over all the Tonga Islands, the *Tu'i Tonga* was surpassed only in rank by his sister,
644 the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine.* (It remains true in Tonga
[562] even today that women hold superiority over men in ceremonial ranking.) Still higher, and in fact, the person of highest rank traditionally in the entire Kingdom was the *Tamaha*—that is, the eldest daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine.* The rank of the *Tamaha* was so great that even the *Tu'i Tonga* had to pay homage to her.

764 766 349 In historic times, tombs called *langi* were erected

[p. 29-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30B]

775 Tongan gods and the souls of deceased chiefs, nobles
and *matapule*; but since commoners had no souls,
[565] they therefore had no hope of ever enjoying an
[774] afterlife. Pulotu differed from Christianity's view of
paradise in that one's status in Pulotu was not
[784] affected by his life on earth, for all punishments and
rewards were imposed by supernatural means upon
mortals in this life.

784 Wrongdoing and neglect of religious or civic
duties were believed to be punishable through the
gods' intervention by sickness, death, famine,
[681] drought, war or a major catastrophe. For example,
in the case of theft or a similar crime, it was believed
that the guilty person could easily be detected if all

[p. 39-C]

784 [681] [671] the suspects were led into the sea, for the guilty one would be bitten by sharks under the direction of the gods.[13] Supernatural sanctions and the rigid system of taboos, which were early Tongan society's substitute for a written code of laws, essentially conditioned behavior through fear and quite effectively controlled crime within the community at large.[14]

778 793 787 Certain of the principal gods had wooden houses of worship erected in their honor, usually on sacred burial grounds. Priests, serving as intermediaries between the gods and the people, would invoke a god and would accept offerings in his behalf. Upon

[p 40-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

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Flying Foxes in early Tonga were, at times, inhabited by gods. Even today, flying foxes retain much of their sanctity and are considered to be *tapu*. Here they hang from an ironwood tree at Kolovai, where they are plentiful.

Na'e toe pehe tokua na'e nofo ha ngaahi laumalie pe 'otua kehekehe 'i he fanga peka. A'u ki he ngaahi 'aho ni 'oku kei tapu pe 'a e peka 'i Tonga. Ko e ta eni 'o e fanga peka 'i he 'ulu toa 'i Kolovai.

[p. 42-A]

177 With the progressive infusion of western thoughts, values and attitudes into Tonga beginning about 200 years ago, the prevailing religious, social, cultural and political organization did gradually change, and
[181] significantly so. It has been noted that the Polynesians have always been, in general, an open-minded, forward-looking people, eager to adopt new ideas[26]—and it was this way of thinking (Tongans being no exception to the rule) which encouraged many changes within the Tongan society.

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[784]
[671] One very apparent change came in the realm of religion. With the spread of Christianity and its doctrine of monotheism, Tonga's basis of social control had to be totally revamped, for she found herself devoid of the supernatural sanctions (fear of the gods) and system of taboos which had formerly maintained the balance between good and evil in the polytheistic society of early Tonga.

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[797] In 1830, the recently-converted chief Taufa'ahau (later to become King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I), a crusader for the cause of Christianity, went about desecrating the gods and gods' houses. John Williams of the London Missionary Society witnessed young Taufa'ahau contemptuously hang some wooden god-images (see accompanying photo) in Ha'apai out

776 whose shrine was a shark [Mariner renders *Taliai
Tubou* by 'Wait there, Tubou,' which is certainly
778 incorrect; Taliai Tubou was probably the name of
a king]; Bulotu Katoa (the Pleroma of the Spirit
779 World, who presided over hurricanes, and agri-
culture), whose shrine, we think, was a tree at
Kolonga [Mariner mentions several the present
writer has never heard of: Tubou Toutai ('Tubou
the Mariner'; Tubou is the familiar designation
of the king, and one of his family is usually called
Tubou Toutai); Hala'evalu ('Eight Ways'; also
the name of a chief); 'Alo'alo ('the Fanner'), the
god of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and
vegetation; Tu'i Bulotu ('King of the Spirit
World')]. Other gods resided in the turtle, the
cuttle-fish, the kingfisher, etc. Fonokitangata's
784 shrine was a war-club. These were, so to speak,
the private gods of the people, and the shrine of
779 each was tabu to its worshippers. Thus the people
of Te'ekiu were forbidden to eat the octopus, that
[778] being the shrine of their god. In the neighbouring
villages, however, it would be freely eaten. In
Nomuka one particular family were thus debarred
from eating turtle, while the rest of the town were
free to partake of that delicacy.

(3) In addition to these there were a number of
776 supernatural beings whose position in the Tongan
779 pantheon is not clear. They were looked upon as
gods, and the term expressive of highest deity was
applied to them; but they were never worshipped,
nor were temples built to them. On the contrary,
they were looked upon with contempt, and their
follies freely portrayed and laughed at. It is
curious to see these ascriptions of high divinity
and expressions of contempt standing side by side.
Is it that these were the gods of the inferior race
which the Tongans found in the group when they
landed?

776 Take an instance or two. Jiji and Faiga'a were two goddesses
in this class, who had set their affections on a Tongan of great
masculine beauty called Bajikole. He, tired of their attentions,
773 plaited two large baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, put one goddess in
each, and, shouldering them like a Chinaman, conveyed them
779 into the bush, and hung them on the branch of a tree, and left
them there for two years, until the baskets rotted, and they
fell to the ground. They made another attempt on his affec-
tions, and he finally got rid of them by inveigling them into his
fish traps, and leaving them at the bottom of the sea, where
they lay until Tangaloa took pity on them, and sent a god to
release them. Take another instance. In this case also it was
two goddesses, who set out to meet a mortal lover. While
waiting for him, they took off their heads to dress their
hair. Suddenly his footsteps were heard, and they put their
heads on again; but in the hurry one of them put hers on hind
before; and when she attempted to move, her face went one
way and her legs another. It is extremely puzzling to meet
with tales like these, referring to those to whom the titles of
highest deity are given: and yet, after all, they do but recall
the vagaries of the Olympian deities as described by Homer,
when

> 'Unextinguished laughter shook the skies.'

769 On the subject of ancestor-worship, Mariner
speaks positively (vol. ii. p. 97): 'That there
779 are other Hotooas or gods, viz. the souls of all
deceased nobles and mataboolės.' The present
writer was disposed to agree with him at first,
especially as it was a custom of the people to go
to the cemeteries to pray, even after a sacrifice
had been presented at the temple. But further
inquiry has convinced him that they did so because
they fancied themselves nearer the spirit-world in
769 such places. Intelligent chiefs like Valu, who
were acquainted with heathenism, are equally
776 positive in the other direction, and deny that they
looked upon the spirits of deceased chiefs as gods.
779 We think the truth lies between the two state-
ments, and that Mariner himself gives us a key to
the solution of the question. In vol. i. p. 376, he
speaks of Feenow as being frequently inspired by
the spirit of Mumui (a late king of Tonga). Now
we can readily understand that in such circum-
stances Feenow would pray to Mumui, and others
would join him; so that in time Mumui would be

male relatives of the mother and in her generation or not. When the 601 father's brothers or mother's sisters are indicated separately from the 114 true father or mother, a descriptive term such as *tokoua o'e tamai* or *tokoua o'e fa'e* is used. The word for mother's brother, *tuasina* described by Gifford(16) and Koch (17) was not obtained, and I think *fa'e tangata* must be much more popular than *tuasina* today. Also in daily conversation the term *tokoua* for the siblings of the same sex is widely used, instead of *taokete* or *tehina*.

As a term for a spouse, *unoho, ohoana* and *hoa* by Gifford are com- 601 pletely replaced by the English term *mali*. For a man, his wife, his wife's [192] sister and his brother's wife are all denoted by the term *mali*, and for a woman, her husband, her husband's brother and her sister's husband are her *mali*. The complementary term to *mali* is *matapule* which indicates four kinds of relation; for a man, his sister's husband, his wife's brother, and for a woman, her brother's wife and her husband's sister. A woman's brother's wife and man's wife's brother are grouped by Gifford under the name of *mo'a*,(18) a term which I could not elicit. Gifford 601 thinks that *matapule* is an honorary term which applies only to the higher 554 rank of man's sister's husband and woman's husband's sister, but it is used reciprocally regardless of rank or status.

He mentions that the father's sister's husband is also called *tangata eiki*, chiefly man.(19) But *tangata eiki* is an honorary term to be extended not only to the father's sister's husband, but also to the father and to a man not related. For example, when one indicates "your father" or "your husband," it is used as a pure honorific expression, not a kinship term.

There are no special terms of address at all. Even by their own 601 small children people are addressed by their own personal names.

The Norm of Kinship Behaviour

As already pointed out by a number of writers, kinship behaviour is 602 precisely defined according to the rank of an individual within a network 554 of kinship. The norm the villagers think they should observe today is variously defined in accordance with the relationship involved.

Parents and Children 593

Father and children: It is *tapu* for both sons and daughters to touch 784 the father's head, to use his clothes, bed, combs and to eat the food he 602 [264] does not finish eating. Upon his death, they cannot stay inside a house [764] where the corpse is laid. The attitude towards the father's brother is the [604] same as towards the father. The head of a nuclear family is the father [592] who is responsible for the management of the household affairs. When [584] sons and daughters want to marry, they should consult their father, and if he forbids the marriage, the only way to effect their purpose is to elope.

Mother and children: There is no *tapu* towards the mother. Either sons or daughters may use their mother's or sister's bed, clothes and combs.

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16. Gifford 28.
17. Koch 1955: 71.
18. Gifford 1929 :29.
19. Gifford 28.

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

602
603 No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren.
784 The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their
269 food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate
to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an out-
784 standing feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred
602 by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each
291 other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they
513 have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the
516 sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not
521 come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a
764 funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase.
264 They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and
must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used.
516 When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They
195 may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must
521 reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such
topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the
brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversa-
585 tion about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and
764 funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may
535 not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*.
276 The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When
574 one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may
758 nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting,
one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

264 Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother
to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between
the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the
846 younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take
care of her.

604 *Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece*

602 Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*,
601 the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On
the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece
as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

602
604 *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to
784 the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They
276 may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a
764 room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but
601 will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Maternal uncle (fa'e tangata) and nephew and niece (ilamutu)

Even today the *ilamutu* has the privilege of making free with a *fa'e* 604
tangata's possessions. A man of about sixty years old told me that he had 602
taken a bicycle, pigs, yams and so on from his four *fa'e tangata*. All his 422
fa'e tangata have passed away now, but he is still able to take similar [601]
things away from their children if he wishes. Conversely, he has several *ilamutu* of his only sister. He always locks the door of his house while he is out, for fear that the *ilamutu* should come and take away what they want. *Ilamutu* have freedom also towards *fa'e tangata's* wife, from whom they can get bark clothes or mats without permission. But if she is not a good natured woman, they cannot make free with her own property.

Cousins

The *fakafotu* have to observe *tapu* towards *mehikitanga's* children, 605
too. But the *tapu* in this case is not so strict as towards the *mehikitanga*. 602
According to the explanation given by an old man, cousins may play 784
together in their childhood, but brother's children may not strike sister's children and not touch their head or possessions. On the other hand, sister's children may take what they want away from brother's children and eat the foods they leave over.

Husband and Wife

There is no *tapu* between those who are denoted under the term *mali* 593
each other. Those two persons who are not real husband and wife, may 607
stay in one room together, talking about anything. 602
784

Matapule

A woman and her brother's wife may not use clothes, bark cloths, 607
combs, mats and so forth in common. They may beat bark cloth in 602
company and use a beating bat in common. If one were ill and there 784
were no one to nurse, the other may care for her but it is *tapu* to attend [853]
her at the time of delivery, and to suckle her baby even if the mother can not nourish it on her own milk.

VI — ACTUAL BEHAVIOUR IN THE INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP

Variation in the Behaviour

602
When we ask the Tongan about the kinship behaviour they should 183
observe, they mention so and so, as described in the previous chapter. People are very proud of the custom that a brother should respect his sister, saying "This is *fake Tonga*, Tongan way." As one might suspect, there seems to be a little difference between the norm and the actual behaviour. My interpreter used to say "If a man is properly reared in 593
Tongan way, he has respect for and supports his sister." But the norm 602
has been losing its strictness; a man, once married, will no longer bring 183
his sister food, money or anything she pleases, in preference to his wife.

12

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

578 While I was staying in the village, a quarrel occurred between a man
605 and his classificatory sister who were the second cousins. The reason for
602 their quarrel is as follows: Two girls (H and V) in the village had the
601 same boy friend. The woman (A) took the side of V, although her
brother's (B) wife (C) took the side of H, and there was a dispute between them. Then A's adopted son (D) of six years old hit B's son of
[683] two years old. Getting angry, B hit D back. So A went to law with B,
and B sued D for his violence. Since then, A, B and C, who are next door neighbours, have remained unfriendly.

601
602 There is much more emphasis on correct behaviour in the case of a
605 real and direct relationship than a classificatory one. For example, the
593 brother-sister *tapu* is most strictly observed, but between cousins (classi-
[789] ficatory brother and sister) it is sometimes relaxed. Sometimes cousins
joke and laugh in loud voices in a way that is never found in the real
604 sibling relationship. And one dares not employ his *ilamutu* privilege
602 towards the classificatory *fa'e tangata* so freely as towards his real
601 mother's brother.

128 Next we shall examine a few practices in connection with kinship behaviour.

The Place to Sleep

593 It is said that the brother and the sister do not live usually in the
592 same house after ten or twelve years of age. In this village there are only
[342] two wooden houses having more than two rooms and the remainder are
the houses, each with only one room. A boy who reaches about the age
513 of ten is supposed either to build a hut or find some other place to sleep.
592 Out of 33 households ten have boys and girls who are older than ten
593 years. These ten households are grouped into four according to the place where the boys sleep.

(a) in the main *fale mohe* with sisters	3 households
(b) in another *fale. mohe*	5 households
(c) in *fale kai*	1 household
(d) some brothers in another *fale mohe* but others with sisters	1 household

One of (a) households has a large wooden house, permitting the boy to sleep in a separate room from his sister, so that this case may be added to (b).

Out of 19 boys 14 sleep apart from their sisters. Sometimes a little boy of six years old sleeps with his elder brothers, thus separated from his sister and parents. Among five boys who share the room with the sisters, three are eleven years old or over. The oldest boy, the second son of 9, is already married and lives with his father and sister of twelve years of age in his fatherm's house. A fourteen years old boy is the eighth son of 5; his elder brothers are all married. He stays with his parents and his sister of thirteen years of age in the same house. An eleven year old boy is the first son of 3 who sleeps with his parents and elder sister of twelve years old. So the age of girls sleeping in the same room with a brother

764 The next morning, they take off the white cloth and *feta'u*, and wrap the corpse again with bark cloth of *launima*, named *kumifonua*. Further, they wrap it with all the mats and bark cloths they can afford and all the gifts the callers have given. When a coffin is not used, the corpse is wrapped with *kumifonua*, is put on a ladder shaped frame, (*fata*), and is then carried by men, six or eight consisting of distant relatives, to the graveyard. If the dead person is a man, a *fata* can not be carried by his younger brother and children, and if a woman, her brother can not touch it. Close relations would also not carry it. While others sing hymns, neighbours, friends and remote relations dig the grave and carry up white sand from the beach. When the funeral reaches the graveyard, the priest gives an oration. Then the coffin is lowered into the grave by remote male relations. The grave is filled with sand by those present. After burial, the *ulu i famili* makes a brief speech, expressing his thanks to the people at the cemetery and informing them of the feast if one is held.[24] For the funeral feast, *pulua*, *fa'e tangata* and the sons of the deceased make enough *umu* to distribute one basket of food to each attendant. [276] Usually the last basket is presented to the *matapule*. Sometimes *pulua* [574] is held on the same or sometimes on the following day of the funeral, when *kava* drinking is occasionally arranged.

765 Years ago, *liongi* cut their hair to show their grief and even now they do not dare to comb their hair for the same reason.[25] The family [302] and close relations sit by the beautifully decorated grave for at least ten [784] days. By this time, the *tapu* between brother and sister will be lifted, [593] and the sister may tend the grave of her brother. Relations and villagers [602] wear a big ragged mat for mourning, called *taovala putu* for ten days, but [292] the family members of the deceased wearing it for nearly one year. For these ten days, enjoying movies or beating bark cloth are not allowed for the whole village. At the end of this period merry-making may be held and the relatives from a distance return to their home village .

VIII — SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON RAMIFICATION AND STRATIFICATION

121 In the previous chapters, I have tried to describe the organisation and behaviour of kinship found in a Tongan village today. As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I do not intend to analyse it theoretically, but to depict it as descriptively as possible. My reason for choosing the latter approach is mainly because there is a scarcity of information. 114 'Tongan Society', by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. I suppose this is because he collected his data mainly from the noble class, and also it is thirty years since his field survey.

613 The most important difference, it appears to me, is in regard to 114 *ha'a*. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to 565 commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware

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24. According to Beaglehole *ha'a tufunga*, undertaker, presides over everything in the graveyard. But the villagers say that *ha'a tufunga* will be employed only in case of the chief's death.
25. Koch 1955: 98.

holder (Maude, 1965, p. 29). Today, with the dissolution of the lineage 613
and the descent principle among commoners, the term *kāinga* is applied
to one's bilateral kindred or field of individuals that one recognizes as 612
kinsmen. In former times, the commoner *'ulu mōtu'a* was linked to the 178
class system by being considered the *foha* (son) or *tehina* (younger 565
brother) of the chief to whose lineage his people were collaterally related
and subordinated. 613

The internally ranked *kāinga* is conceptually related to rank in the 602
class system in the following ways: (1) Relations between *Tu'i* and *'eiki*, 565
and between *'eiki* and *tu'a* are marked by rigid deference behavior ex-
pressed in *tapus*. Within the *kāinga*, the important reciprocal ranked 612
relationships between father-children, brother-sister, and father's sister- 554
brother's children are expressed in similar *tapus*. (2) In talking about [784]
rank in the *kāinga*, Tongans discriminate status by saying that A is either
'eiki or *tu'a* to B, i.e., class concepts are used to designate relative rank in
the *kāinga*. Alternatively, the term *fahu*, 'above the law', is used in des-
cribing rank designation both within the *kāinga* and between classes. (3)
Formerly, a kinship idiom was used to characterize relationships between
individuals of different classes: *'ulu mōtu'a* were termed the *foha* or
tehina of *'eiki*. Of course the *'ulu mōtu'a* were in fact usually related to
their *'eiki* but the kinship terms used to characterize their relationship
were idiomatic and metaphoric, rather than descriptive of actual ties.
Finally, (4) Tongan kin terms have the character of titles, similar to [601]
titles of nobility defining the societal class hierarchy, which allocate par-
ticular statuses of honor to an individual and define for him standards of
behavior concerning demeanor and deference in relation to all other
individuals in his *kāinga*. These shared concepts of rank survive to the
present in both the Tongan class system and the *kāinga* despite important
structural changes that have occurred in Tongan society.

Conditions in contemporary Tonga may be seen against the backdrop 178
of changes that occurred during the period of civil wars in the eighteenth
and nineteenth centuries and the rise to power in the mid-nineteenth
century of George Tupou I, the founder of the present royal dynasty.
Tonga was ruled by a line of Tu'i Tonga, putatively descended from the 643
union of a god and a woman of an earlier Tongan population. After a 175
history of assassinations of Tu'i Tonga, in the fifteenth century, the
twenty-fourth incumbent Tu'i Tonga conferred supreme secular power
on his younger brother, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, while retaining for
himself the highest sacred status. The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, repea-
ting the earlier split in authority, conferred considerable authority on one

for by Polaho and soon after Feenough came and acquainted me that 648
young Fattafee, Polaho's son, wanted me. I left Toobough and went 643
with him, And found the Prince and Omai seting under a large 644
Canopy of the finer sort of cloth with a piece of the Coarser sort
spread under them, that was 76 yards long and 7½ broad. On one 648
side was a large old Boar and on the other a heap of Cocoa-nuts; a 643
number of people were seated round the cloth, amongst them Mari- 644
waggy and others of the first rank. I was desired to set down by the 431
Prince and then Omai informed me that he was desired by the King
to tell me that as he and I were friends he hoped his son might be
joined in that friendship, and that as a token I would except of his
present. I very readily agreed to the proposal and as it was now 648
dinner time I invited them all on board to dinner, viz. the young 643
Prince, Mariwaggy, Old Toobough and Feenough; they were accom- 644
paned by three or four inferior chiefs and two respectable old Ladies
of the first rank. Mariwaggy was dressed in a new peice of cloth, on [634]
the skirts of which was fixed six pretty large patches of red feathers:
this dress seemed to have been made for this visit, for as soon as he [292]
got on board he put it of and presented it to me to whom it was [297]
valuable on account of the feathers. I made all my visiters such pre-
sents as I had reson to think they were highly pleased with. When [431]
dinner came on table not one of my guests would sit down or eat a [262]
bit of any thing that was there. Every one was *Tabu*, a word of a very
comprehensive meaning but in general signifies forbidden. After [784]
dinner, and they had seen all over the Ship, I conducted them a
shore, as soon as the boat land[ed] Feenough and some others in-
stantly steped out, young Fattafee was following them but was called
back by Marriwaggy, and he Old Toobough and one of the old
Ladies paid the young Prince the same obeisance and in the same
manner as is paid to the King; this done he was suffered to go and
the old people steped into a Canoe that was waiting to carry them to
their place of aboad. This Mariwaggy and Old Toobough were 643
Brothers they were both men of great property in the island and
seemed to be in high favour with the people; the former was Father 644
to Feenough, & Toobougheitoa and Father in Law to the King, he
having married one of his Daughters by whom he had this Son—
consequently Mariwaggy was the Prince's grandfather.[1] On my 648
643

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[1] The relationships as stated here need some modification, owing to the ambiguity of the Tongan words used to explain them. Maealiuaki and 'old Toobough' were full brothers, on the assumption that the latter was Tupou'ila, both sons of Ma'afuotu'itonga, 6th Tu'i Kanokupolu, and the same mother. Maealiuaki was 'classificatory father', *tamai* (cf. p. 125, n. 2 above), to both Finau, son of Tu'itu'iohu, a chief in Vava'u, and Tupouto'a his half-brother. Maealiuaki's daughter Kongakava was Paulaho's wife, but an 'additional

upon an uncul[t]ivated point, so that there were no people who 485
properly lived within half a mile of us, but even at this distance,
amongst such a Multitude of strangers, one might have expected
their houses to have been much Crouded; it was quite otherwise, they
lived as retired as if there had not been a man in the neighbourhood;
all the Strangers lived in little temporary sheds and under trees and
bushes; the only thing that seemed to suffer was the Cocoa-nut trees,
which were striped of their branches to make sheds for the cheifs. In 764
this walk we met with about half a dozen Women in one place at
supper, two of the Company were fed by the others, on our asking 264
the reason, they said Tabu Mattee.[1] On further enquiry, found that 784
one of them had, two months before, washed the dead corps of a
Chief, on which account she was not to handle any Victuals for five
Months, the other had done the same thing to a nother of inferior
rank, and was under the same restriction but not for so long a time.
At a nother place hard by we saw a nother Women fed, she had assisted in washing the Corps of the above mentioned Chief.

SATURDAY 21*st*. Early the next Morning the King came on board to 648
invite me to an entertainment he proposed to give the same day. He 643
had already been under the barbers hands, his head being all besmeared with red pigment[2] in order to reden his hair which was [302]
naturally of a dark brown. After breakfast I attended him a shore and
found his people very busy in two places in the front of our area, 431
fixing in an upright and square position $\binom{\circ\ \circ}{\circ\ \circ}$ four very long posts, 648
near two feet from each other. The space between the post[s] were 643
afterwards filled up with yams, and as they went on seized[3] sticks a 417
cross from post to post at the distance of about every four feet to prevent the posts from seperating by the weight of the yams. When they
got to the top of these post[s] they fastened others to them and so
continued till each pile was the height of 30 feet or upwards. On the
Top of one they placed two baked hogs, on the top of the other a
living one and a nother they tied by the legs about half way up. It
was extraordinary to see with what facility and despatch they raised
these two piles, had our seamen be[en] ordered to do such a thing,
they would have swore it could not be done without Carpenters and
the Carpenters, not without a dozen different sorts of tools, and the
expence of at least a hundred weight of nails and after all it would

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[1] *tapu mate.*

[2] Probably some local ochre, as Cook uses the word 'smeared'. Powdered turmeric was often used, but does not seem to fit in to this description.

[3] A nautical use of the word, here merely meaning bound. Normally a rope would be seized to another rope or to something else, by binding the two parallel together.

the rack work broke and the instrument useless till repaired which 122
there was not time to do before the day of the Eclipse. Got on board all the Cattle Poultry &ca except such as were distined to remain. I intended to have left a Turkey Cock and Hen, but having only two of each left, one of the hens through the ignorance of one of my people was strangled and died on the spot. I brought three Turkey hens to these islands, one was killed as above mentioned and the other by a useless dog belonging to one of the officers. These two accidents put it out of my power to leave of these birds here and at the same time carry a breed to Otaheite where they were first intended. I was sorry afterwards that I did not leave those that remained, as they would have been of more real Value here than at Otaheite and the people I am perswaided would have taken more pains to have multiplied them. The next day we took up our anchors and moved the Ships Thurs. 3
behind Pangimaudoo, in order to take the advantage of the first favourable wind to get through the Narrows.[1]

At dinner to day the King who was one of the company tooke un- 648
common notice of the plates, this occasioned me to make him an offer 643
of one, either of pewter or stone,[2] he chused the first and then began to 177
tell us the several uses he would apply it to, two of them are so extra- 415
ordinary that I cannot pass them over. He said that whenever he
went to Visit any of the other islands, he would leave this plate behind
him for the people to reverence in the same manner as they do him- -
self,[3] he was asked what was used for this purpose before he got this
plate, he answered a Wooden bowl in which he washed his hands.[4]
The other extraordinary use he meant to apply it to was to discover a 643
thief: he said when any thing was Stolen and the thief could not be 648
found, the people were all assembled together before him, when he 177
washed his hands in Water in this Vessel, after which it was cleaned 415
and then the people came one after a nother and touched it in the 685
same manner as they do his foot when they pay him Obeisance; if the 695
Guilty person did it, he died immidiately on the spot, not by violence

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[1] The entrance into the Piha passage, 'barely 1½ cables [i.e. 330 yards] wide'. The name has persisted.

[2] i.e. stoneware.

[3] It was to have another, closely related, use of 'reverence'. 'If any one is tabooed by touching the person or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.'—Mariner, II, p. 188. The bowl used for this was known as the *koe fakafanonga* or *fafanonga*, the 'carrier of immunity'. [784] [783]

[4] According to some, this bowl was given to the thirty-first Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua III, by Tasman on his visit in 1643.

651 tinued to sing short sentances, while a number of other men were
796 coming in with Yams, each tied to the middle of a pole. In the mean
time the King and the Prince came and seated themselves on the
[123] area, and we were desired to sit down by them, to pull of our hats and
untie our hair that we might appear the more decent. The men with the
[482] yams being all come in, each pole with the yam was taken up between
two men who carried it over their shoulders; and after forming themselves
into companies of ten or twelve they marched a cross the place
with a quick pace each company headed by a man bearing a club or
spear and guarded on the right by several others armed with different
Weapons. A man carrying a live Pigeon on a pearch Closed the
rear. Omai was desired to ask the Cheif where the yams were going
[644] to be carried to, he answered to be baked. This appeared probable
enough as we had been told that the occasion of this ceremony was
[643] him and his Son eating together, a thing that had never yet been
[illegible] done.[1] However as he seemed unwilling to give us the information we
wanted two or three of us followed them contrary to his inclination.
We found they had stoped before a Morai or Affiatouca,[2] which was
hardly a quarter of a Mile from the place where they first assembled;
here they were making up the yams in bundles but for what purpose
could not learn, and as our presence seemed to give them uneasiness
we left them and returned to the Cheif, who told us we might amuse
our selves by walking about awhile for that nothing would be done
for some time; the fear of loseing part of this Ceremony made us not
[784] be long absent. When we returned to the King he desired me to order
the boats crew not to stir from the boat, for as every thing would very
[688] soon be *Tabu*, who ever was found walking about would be *Mated*,
that is killed or beat. He also informed us that we could not be present
651 at the Ceremony, but that we should be conducted to a place where
796 we might see every thing that passed; objection were made to our
dress, to be present it was necessary we should be naked as low as the
123 breast with our hats off and hair untied. Omai offered to conform to

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[651] the present Keeper of the Palace Records at Nuku'alofa, informs me that 'the Tu'i Tonga
himself directed everything at the Inasi, no one knew exactly what would happen. There
[796] were no fixed rules. . . . Stories are told about the Inasi, but there are no details for the
actual ceremony itself and probably each Tu'i Tonga had his own arrangements for the
[643] performance.' Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 76–7) describes, from the memories of an aged
informant of things seen in his youth, a ceremony, '(or perhaps entertainment)', that
[644] seems to have been one of the last traces of ancientry; but clearly this was of the '*inasi*
proper. For what we may call 'the young Prince '*inasi*', Cook and Anderson remain the
only glasses in which we can see, darkly.

[1] Eating together would imply complete equality, as of two co-existent Tu'i Tonga.

[764] [2] The two things are not the same. The *fa'itoka* was the tomb structure, though it
could also be a definite area about the mound where a chief's important retainers and
[346] distant relatives were buried (McKern, p. 31). The *marae* (Tongan *mala'e*) was in this
context the open space for assembly in front of it.

576 could sit down. The hands after performing this ceremony, are in
643 some cases, rendered useless for a time, for untill they are washed
they must not handle any kind of victuals; this in a Country like
644 this, where water is not always at hand would seem to be attended
565 with some ilconv[en]iency, but they are never without a succedanium, for a piece of any juicy plants of which there are always enough
784 at hand, answers the purpose of water. When the hands are in this
[783] state they call it *Taboo rema*,[1] Taboo in general signifies forbiden and
rema is hand.

[515] When it is occasioned by paying obeisance to a great personage it
is soon washed of; but in some other cases, it is of some continuance;
we have frequently met with women that have been Taboo rema and
783 have been fed by others, but never with a man. When the time is expired, she goes and washes in one of their baths which are dirty holes
643 for the most part of brackesh water, she then comes to the King,
make[s] her obeisance in the usual way, then takes his foot and applies it to her breast, shoulders and most other parts of her body, he
then embraces her first on the one shoulder and then on the other,
after which she retires purified from her uncleanness. I do not know
that it is always necessary to come to the King, Omai said it was, if
so this may be one reason why he is for the most part traveling from
[634] island to island. I saw it done with him two or three times, and with
Feenough once, but this was with one of his own Women and as
Omai was not with me I could not ask the occasion.

784 *Taboo* as I have before observed is a word of an extensive signification; Human Sacrifices are called *Tangata Taboo*, and when any thing
[782] is forbid to be eaten, or made use of they say such a thing is Taboo;
[643] they tell us that if the King should happen to go into a house belonging to a subject, that house would be Taboo and never more be in-
[342] habited by the owner;[2] so that where ever he travels there are houses
for his reception; indeed none of them at no time make free with each
[644] others habitations. Old Toobough was at this time over the Taboo,[3]
that is if Omai understood them right, he and his deputies inspected

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[1] *tapu nima* is the modern form. But Cook must have heard the ambiguous Polynesian *r* sound in the word for 'hand'. He knew it from Tahiti and New Zealand.

[2] Or he was accompanied by a special portable house, *falefata*, carried around in sec-
[482] tions. It will be remembered that the day Cook first met Paulaho, 27 May (p. 116 above),
the king was 'carried a shore by some of his own people on a board like unto a hand bar-
[493] row' [another mark of his eminence], 'and went and seated himself in a small neat house near the shore, which seemed to have been built for to accomodate travelling Chiefs'. The *arii rahi* in Tahiti could put houses out of commission in the same way. Even if the Tu'i Tonga sat on a mat or rested on a piece of tapa, the article could not be again used by the owner but passed to the king.

[3] 'Over the Taboo': meaning that he decided on matters of *tapu*; doing this and other work, Tongan fashion, for his elder brother Maealiuaki, the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

into all the produce of the earth, saw that every man cultivated and 784
planted his quota; ordered what should be eat and what should not.
By this wise regulation, they effectually guard against a famine, in [644]
seeing that a sufficient quan[ti]ty of ground is planted, ordering such
articles for food as are in the greatest plenty, and prohibiting such as
are scarce or not arrived at their full grouth. This is not the only wise 693
regulation in their Goverment they have an officer over the Police,[1] or
some thing like it. Feenough had this office,[2] whose business, we were 693
told was to punish all offenders, whether against the state or individuals;
he was also the generalissimo and commands the Warriors 634
when ever they are called out upon service; but by all accounts this [701]
is very seldom. The King frequently took some pains to inform us of
Feenoughs office, and among other things told us, that if he himself [643]
was a bad man, Feenough would kill him; what I understood from [687]
bad man, was if he did not govern according to law or custom, Feenough
would be ordered by the other great men, or the people at
large to put him to death: does not this prove that he is not dispotic?

Considering the number of islands that compose this little state, 669
and the distance some of them are from the Capital; one would think
some of them would be for throwing of the yoke but they till us this 687
never happens; for if there is a troublesome man in any of the island[s], Feenough, or whoever hold that office, goes and kills him. By this means they crush a rebellion in its very infancy, for things cannot be carried on so privately but what they must know it before it gets to any head.

One reason, may be, why they are not disturbed by domistick 565
quarels, there being so few popular chiefs and these few all live at
Tongatabu.[3] The orders, or Classes amongest the chiefs, or those who [423]
call themselves such, seemed to be almost as numerous as they are
with us, but there are few that are Lords of large territories, the rest
hold their lands under them.[4] I was indeed told that when a man of 428

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[1] 'Police' in the sense of public order.

[2] Delegated, it seems, by the Tu‘i Kanokupolu, in whose realm civil administration would lie. [643]

[3] I do not know what Cook means by this—'popular' chiefs in the sense of chiefs chosen by or appointed from the people there were none. He seems to have got the remark from Anderson. In case of equal claims, when succession to a chiefship was in question, popular preference may have made a difference. Possibly he refers to *matapule*, appointed officials or chiefs' attendants who were not chiefly in rank or family, though they might have titles conferred upon them by the chiefs: the ones he met would almost certainly be at Tongatapu, waiting on the king or the Tu‘i Kanokupolu.

[4] The chiefs collectively were called *hou 'eiki*. There was a good deal of gradation among them, but *'eiki* as a description applied to them all, with some suffix to denote rank. There [613]
was however a comparatively small number of *ha‘a*, chiefly lineages; the heads of these would correspond to Cook's 'Lords of large territories'. For example, the Tu‘i Lakepa was the head of the Ha‘a Fale Fisi, the 'lineage of the house of Fiji', descended from the chief Tu‘i Lakepa of Vasivasi, Fiji, who married the *Tu‘i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala II about the

and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh, 644 Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22nd of June. They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they were not misstaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy 565 every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink 276 Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first 574 cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders 512 it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he 643 drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meeting of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has 771 been occasionally mentioned. There principles and notions, nearly agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowlidge the influance of 776 superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. 771 The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King called him Fattafee, and said that when he was angry he distroyed 184 the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all 182 they either feared or expected.[1] I think I may venture to assert that

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fahu to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough has 644 been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were not kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakepa his niece, and Latunipulu his 602 nephew, were *fahu*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *fahu* than the nephew: to Moungalakepa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latunipulu's 643 presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance.

[1] Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between 264 Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian gods Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa 771 did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi- 771 divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god, shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods or 773

775

[1777]

651 few people except about twenty who stood up in the end of a road
796 that opens into the Area, who kept constantly repeating a sentence in
a mournfull tone which convey'd some Idea of distress and that they
call'd for something. This which they call ooee[1] was continued about
an hour and in the mean time many people came down the road they
stood in, each of whom laid a Yam before them or a bunch of ripe
Plantanes wrapp'd up while others brought baskets whose contents
we did not see. They then mov'd a little farther and continued the
cry some time when they advanc'd a little more & sat down, the
Yams &c being mov'd along with them each time. The whole
amounting to 250 then got up and pass'd in slow procession before
Poulaho, who sat on the grass, some carying the yams &c and others
nothing but every one had either a club or spear in his hand. They
pass'd on to the single Fya'tocka on the mount mention'd before &
laid the things down but appear'd to have some reluctance in letting
us pass that way, though we could see no reason why the whole
should seem to be made so mysterious.

At present we saw there was an end to the Ceremony but were
[481] informd something else was to be done in the afternoon, and
accordingly after dinner they told us that we must not walk in any
of the roads except that which led down to the boat, or else if we were
seen there was people who would knock us down with clubs which
they said was also the case with themselves. We however transgress'd
a little and really saw no person in the roads though many were
looking through the fences, but at the large Fya'tocka near Poulahos
house there was a great many men collected together, whom we
shortly after saw to the number of six hundred walking by pairs in
[482] procession through the principal roads. Each pair had a long pole
which they carried on the shoulders as if with a heavy burden, but
they had only three bits of sticks or small yams about the thickness of
a finger and six inches long tied to the under part. We were only
651 permitted to look at these through the fences, and as the mysterious-
796 ness seem'd to increase we urg'd Poulaho to be present at the cere-
128 mony, but he made several excuses by saying we must undress and
go cloath'd like them and that we would not be able to sit long enough
[784] in a requisite posture, in either of which cases he alledg'd that if we
[761] transgress'd God would certainly kill him.

He however said that we should see everything that pass'd through
a fence, and order'd some people to take us to an inclosure adjoining
the Area of the Fyatocka where the Yams were carried to in the forenoon. The fence unluckily happen'd to be of that sort which is quite

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[1] *ui*, to call out.

perhaps to insure the succession wishes to see it done whilst alive. 651
This seems the more probable as all the principal people we had yet
seen assisted in the procession, and the solemn manner in which it is 796
executed appears as if they held it in a religious light, which is pro- [644]
bably done to secure the performance of promises which are often
broke if made independent of any such tie. The present Natche
might then be consider'd as merely ceremonial, for the small quantity 651
of yams that we saw the first day could not be intended as a general 796
contribution, and indeed they made us sensible they were a portion 782
consecrated to the O'to͞oa or divinity. But they inform'd us that in
two months there would be one of great consequence in which not
only the tribute of Tonga but that of Hapaee, Vavaoo and all the
other isles would be brought to the chief, and confirm'd more solemnly
by sacrificing ten human victims from amongst the inferior sort of
people on the occasion, an action that ought to be imputed rather to
the rigid execution which old superstitious customs require than the
inhumanity of these people. On enquiring the reasons of so barbarous [784]
a practice they only said it was a necessary part of the Natche, and
that if they omitted it the Deity would certainly destroy their King
for his impiety—a lesson which though it teaches us the propriety of
discharging religious duties is at the same time a strong monitor
against admitting superstition into the religion and policy of a whole
nation or even particular sects.

THURSDAY 10th. The wind from SSE to ESE. Moderate breezes with 132
fine weather. About eight in the morning we got under way and
work'd through the passage found by the Master between Makka'háá
and Mon'ooafai, which in one place is not above a quarter of a mile 114
broad but continues narrow for a small space only. Its direction is 133
about SSE and NNW, the wind at this time blowing directly in opposi-
tion to us, but we had the advantage of a flood tide which set us fast
through and a fine clear day which plainly discoverd the shoals on
every side. After getting through there is a passage sufficiently broad
between the shore of Tonga and the small islands Onne'vy &c clear
to the eastward in which we work'd, but made little progress in the
forenoon as the wind veer'd between SSE and ESE. About four in the
afternoon we opened the N point of E'o͞oa or Middleburg as we stood
off, but finding no ground without stood in and about sunset anchor'd
in forty two fathom a fine sandy bottom, less than half a mile from a
narrow reef that runs parallel to & join'd with the shore of Tonga, the
N point of the island bearing ENE, one to the westward of us from
which a spit runs and Eoo'eeegee

an idea of such rigorous discipline that must require either an uncommon 765
degree of affection or the grossest superstition to exact. I will 304
not say that the last has no share in it, for in some cases it is so
universal that many could not have any knowledge of the person for [766]
whom the concern is express'd—such for instance as the case mention'd
of the people of Tonga mourning the death of a chief at
Va'vaoo; unless we allow that it is customary to have a general
mourning for persons of eminence, as seem'd to be the case on our
arrival at Tonga, when a great number of the people who had been
with us at Annamooka cut off their hair for a chief who had died at
Tonga a month before, and at the same [time] it should be observ'd
that the painfull operations are only done by the nearest connections.
When a person dies he is buried the same day, after being wrapp'd 766
up in matts and cloth, much after our manner: the chiefs in this case
having the Fyatockas appropriated to them but the common people [764]
are interr'd in no particular spot. What part of the mourning ceremony
follows immediately after is uncertain, but that there is something [765]
besides the general one we were inform'd of from the death of
Mareewagges wife, who died while we were there and was to have
five days spent for that purpose by all the principal people in commemoration
of her.

Their long and general mourning proves that they consider death 763
as a very great evil, and this is confirm'd by an odd custom they
practice to avert it, for when they suspect themselves in danger from 782
sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity. 304
The operation is perform'd with one of their stone hatchets with
which they make a tolerable stump, but never cover it afterwards, [752]
leaving these and all other sores expos'd to the air; nor do they seem [757]
to have any method of assisting the cure of diseases of any kind, the
only instance I saw being some incisions made in a large swelling in a
mans arm to discharge the matter by. There is scarcely one in ten but
are thus mutilated in one or both hands (which is sometimes done
on the illness of their chief as well as themselves) and has a disagreeable
effect, many being cut so short that they have incroach'd
on the bone of the hand which joins to it.

There is another custom amongst them call'd Taboo whose precise 784
meaning we do not well understand. The word itself implys no more
than that a thing is not to be touch'd, and therefore every thing that
is under such restriction for certain reasons is said to be Taboo'd. It
seems a custom of great force and extent and in some measure may be
reckon'd of the sacred or religious cast, relating to things hallow'd
and forbidden. Thus the Fya'tocka at Poulaho's house was not to be [764]
[651]

784 enter'd by the people, the Ceremony call'd Natche was Taboo'd to
[764 all but those assisting in it, and in short it is the common expression
when any thing is not to be touch'd, unless the transgressor will risque
[651] some very severe punishment as appears from the great apprehension
they have of approaching any thing prohibited by it. In some cases
784 it appears to resemble the Levitical law of purification, for we have
764 seen several women who were not allow'd the use of their hands in
264 eating but were fed by other people. On enquiring the reason of it at
one time they said that one of the women had wash'd the dead body
of the chief already mentiond who died at Tonga, and another who
had assisted was in the same predicament, though then a month
784 after the circumstance happen'd. It also serves as a temporary law or
edict of their chiefs, for sometimes certain articles of food are laid
262 under the restriction, and there are other circumstances regulated in
101 the same manner as trading &c when it is thought necessary to stop
it; nay it is probable that the additional word taboo to the name of
the island which is simply Tonga has been added from this very
custom as expressing its singularity.

From the extent and rigid severity with which some of these
784 mourning and religious ceremonys are executed one would expect to
[775] find they think it would secure them felicity in a future life, or some
other material good, which is really the case but it relates to things
merely temporal, for they seem to have little conception of future
punishment for faults comitted in this life. They however believe
that they are justly so on earth and consequently use every method
to avoid or rather not to deserve the punishment annex'd to them.
[776] The supreme Author of most things they call Kalla foo'tonga[1] who
they say is a female, resides in the skys and directs the thunder,
[821] winds, rain and some other things that seem to proceed from thence.
[821] They alledge that when she is angry with them the productions of
[753] the earth are blasted in consequence of it, many things are destroyed
by lightning, and they themselves are afflicted with sickness & death
[761] as well as hogs & other animals—evils so great to them that it is no
wonder they should endeavour to avert them by all the means in their
power. When this anger abates every thing is restor'd to its natural
order and it would appear they think it a consequence of their
776 endeavours to appease it. They have no representation of this
divinity, who they say is invisible, but there is little doubt that they
778 pay that adoration due to their ideas of her power and perfection,
though not discoverable from any particular external posture that

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[1] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 289–90) thinks this goddess was properly named Calla [?Kala] Filatonga, but otherwise cannot identify her.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& made a blow at him, but missed him; he endeavoured to lay hold 648
of me again, but well knowing that putting a good face on the Matter 685
would be the only way to extricate myself out of their Hands, I
followed my blow & after making an Effort or two to lay hold of me
he took to his Heels finding himself deserted by his Confederates, who
had run away in the utmost precipitation on my first getting loose, I
thus saved above one half of the Beads & probably my Cloaths which
it is odds but they intended to take from me. This was the only
instance of Violence that I met with among them, tho' I was
frequently as much in their Power as I was at this time.

There were but few Houses on that part of the Island where the 361
Ships lay, & those who came from distant Parts erected temporary
Huts near our Tents for their residence during our stay in the
Country. Among these was Malawagee the father of Phenow, an old 643
Man & a Chief of the first consequence, and there was another Chief
who generally resided in the House close to the Tent, who was remarkable 644
for being foolish & possessing the highest Rank tho' it is
believed not the greatest power of any of the Chiefs of these Islands.
His name was Tooloobooloo,[1] he had a wife as foolish as himself and
they both seemed to be considered in the light of Divinities among
their Countrymen; Powlohow who was certainly their King, as he
possessed the first Authority among them, was not even suffered to
eat in the presence of this foolish Fellow. Omai spent most part of his 123
time on shore, where he erected a small House for himself and his
Girl close to the Astronomer's observatories; as he always kept
Company with Captn. Cook & the officers of the Ships, he was looked
upon as a Chief of great Consequence & as such was highly respected
among them. The two new Zealand Boys did not trouble the Ship
much while we staid here, they spent most of their time among the [177]
Natives, who paid much attention to them & were very fond of their
Company; having once seen the new Zealand Heivah or war dance
they frequently desired the Boys to perform it before them which they
did & were much caressed & admired for it. In this manner those 648
who had leasure time on their Hands spent it here, while the necessary 439
duty of the ship was carried on such as wooding, watering,
repairing the Sails, salting Pork & stowing away yams for a Sea 123
Stock, & Captn Cook kept up an amicable intercourse with the
Chiefs by making them Presents & treating them at all times with 122
Kindness & respect, by which means our market ashore & the Ships 784
were well supplied with provisions but which cannot be the case
without the Concurrence of the Chiefs, who have it in their Power to

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[1] Latunipulu.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

648 put an interdiction upon all Trade, which they call Taboo, which is
always most religiously observed by all the Natives; from hence it
439 appears how necessary it is to cultivate the good will & Friendship
123 of the Chiefs, which Captⁿ Cook never failed to do, and of his
extraordinary good management of Indians nothing can be a
122 stronger proof than the ample Supplies we procured at all the Islands
784 we touched at. When Powlohow first visited Captⁿ Cook at the
Happai Islands, among other things he asked him what he wanted at
648 these Isles, which rather surprized him as we had never such a
question proposed to us before at any of the South Sea Islands, the
643 natives contenting themselves with staring at us with vacant astonish-
439 ment & getting what they could from us without enquiring what
brought us amongst them or what we wanted. This gave us no mean opinion of his Understanding; being answered that we touched here for refreshments he told us we should have whatever the Country afforded. The old King after a little further Acquaintance with us, observing that we paid the best price for Women & Hogs, concluded that these were the Commodities we were in search of & that wherever they abounded we should be glad to go, & being very desirous that we should visit Tongataboo, the largest of his Islands, He urged Captⁿ Cook strongly to go there, always enforcing his Intreaties with that irresistible Argument, wurrow wurrow Booaga, wurro wurrow Phaphenee,[1] that is, that in that Island we should be supplied with plenty of fine Hogs & fine women.

122 Omai having a dispute one day with the Corporal of Marines,
struck him while upon duty, on which the Man returned the blow, at this Omai was highly offended & made his Complaint to Captⁿ Cook, but not receiving that redress which he expected he took the Resolution of staying behind at these Islands & with that Intention set off for a distant part of the Country & took Tayweherooa the New Zealand Boy along with him; a messenger was sent after him & he was prevailed upon to return the next day & matters were made up to his satisfaction, tho' Captⁿ Cook would not punish the Corporal
648 as Omai had struck him while upon duty. The Island being exceeding
beautiful & pleasant & the weather almost constantly fair, hardly a
609 day passed but some small party of the Gent. of both Ships made
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[1] Samwell's Tongan here is a little doubtful. The word *lau* would mean 'plenty of', in the sense of an indefinite number, and would give him his '-row'; but possibly the 'old King's' irresistible argument was not based on numbers but on quality, and he was saying *ualoa*, in the sense of upstanding or large. (Tongan informants think this likely, though the word would now be applied to a tall thin person, and not to animals.) In Tongan eyes, quantity in both women and pigs would be synonymous with quality: therefore *ualoa puaka, ualoa fefine*.

Excursions into different parts of the Country, among others I shall 648
here mention the reception that four of us met with on a Visit we
paid to Toobow, a Chief of the first Consequence who lived about 3 609
or four miles along shore to the Eastward of our Tents. On our arrival 565
being made known to him by the great Croud that accompanied us [431]
the old Chief came out of his Inclosure & met us on the highway, &
then conducted us to his House where we were entirely free from the [576]
Croud, none of whom dared to follow us into his Inclosure; he desired us to sit down which we did & then made him a present of Nails & other things, for which he thanked us by putting each article to his head, which is the Custom of these people on receiving any Gift; after a little while his wives of which he has 2 or 3 came in & sat down with us, first having paid their respect to Toobow by touching his foot with their Heads & then with the back & palm of their Hands, and this Ceremony they always use on coming to his presence as well as on
leaving him. He made some apologies to us in that he was not able to 648
get us any thing for dinner but fish, all the Hogs being at this time
under a Taboo as they had supplied the Ships with as many as they 609
could spare, & this shews How strictly the Chiefs themselves observe 262
those Laws which they make for the public Good. However we made [184]
an excellent Dinner of baked fish & yams, & having brought some Brandy with us which mixed with the Cocoa nut Milk makes a most excellent Drink we were not in a Humour to find fault, on the
Contrary we spent a merry afternoon. Toobow having provided a 648
Company of dancers to entertain us, we in our Turns entertained
with Country dances on the green before the House, at which Toobow 609
was much delighted, & we were altogether so pleased with our 836
honest Host & the cordial manner in which he entertained us that
we resolved to stay at his House all night, & to encourage us in this [264]
resolution He promised to procure a mistress for each of us, we wanted [262]
no more & Toobow was as good as his word. About 12 o'Clock we [513]
were waked by the Servants to a repast of fish & yams which was provided for us (it seems to be a common Custom with these people to eat ab^t^ that time of night), we partook of some of it with our Dulcineas who were all fine Girls & did Honour to Toobow's Hospitality, we all laid together in one room upon Matts & were
covered with a large Quantity of Indian Cloth. One Girl hearing a [833]
rustling of the bed Cloaths at one time of the Night cried out 'Cohaiia'[1]—ie. what is the matter? the other who was the occasion of it & then employed ab^{t} some business or other very innocently

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[1] *ko e ha.*

123 'squatters' lived in a small house on the same land, and in some ways can be considered part of the household.

[121] My original plan was to do a broad study of the arts and aesthetic [125] taste in Tonga. I gave value tests based on sculpture, began to learn the language and some dances, and observed tapa making. But mainly I just participated in Tongan life.

[121] On my second trip I stayed nearly one year and lived alone in a small, thatched Tongan house. However, for many purposes I was again part of a household. This was a commoner family consisting of a married couple plus their own and 'adopted' children. I usually spent two days each week in Lapaha, Mu'a, the village traditionally reknowned for its dancing. In Lapaha the family I stayed with consisted of a woman of a chiefly family; her husband, a man from a *matāpule* (ceremonial attendant) family; the woman's step-father, who was a commoner; and two young girls who did most of the work. This third family was Catholic, while the first two were Mormon and Wesleyan, respectively.

121 Building on my knowledge of Tonga gathered during the first trip, I decided to concentrate on two of their important cultural categories--dance and tapa making[4]--and to explore the relation between these and
192 the social order. It should be noted that the Tongans have no verbalised category that would correspond to the Western concept of the
122 'arts.' A few months after I arrived Queen Salote died, which placed
765 both dance and tapa making under tapu. This tapu officially lasted
766 784 six months, but in effect really lasted for a year. Although my
[535]
[287]

122 specific research died under me, so to speak, this did not prove to be
765 an insurmountable problem. After a month or so, some of my informants
766 784 were willing to teach me some dances and were willing to talk about
122 dance. In some ways this was an advantage, for if I wanted to know
124 how to do something, they could not tell me to go and look at a
performance, but had to demonstrate instead.

122 The last nation-wide celebration with dance performance was in
535 1962. It is not very often that a large-scale celebration is held, so
541 the Queen's death was not the only reason that I could not observe one.
I did, however, miss the minor dance performances which would have been
123 held if the Queen had not died during my residence. Fortunately,
during my first field trip and the first three months of my second
field trip I did see performances of all the dance genres. I also
learned to perform a dance of each genre. From observation, participation, and persistent questioning my research has enabled me to
delineate the structure of Tongan dance and its function in the
society.

121 Many other aspects of life were studied that will not be
presented here. A good deal of my time was occupied with gathering
126 of texts that dances accompany. These texts are not written down but
[122] are reconstructed each time they are to be performed by the people who
know them, and it was particularly difficult to gather these people
together especially when it was tapu to sing dance songs. These texts
[128] are very important in ascertaining the meaning of the dance. The

they are to its retention. The less well-off may retain traditional 369
values and activities because they act as socio-economic securities; 184
the better-off because they enhance their socio-political status (see
Table VI).

Attitudes to misdemeanours and crimes such as illegitimacy, 674
prostitution, the fakafefine and prisoners are much the same among the [369]
upper levels of urban society as they are among the rural peasants. [184]
Crimes are often considered irritating or amusing. A thief who
avoids detection is "cunning", one who is caught is "stupid"; an un-
married mother is "silly"; working groups of prisoners stop to talk
to friends in the street and are readily accepted back into the
community upon their release. A different view, however, is taken [784]
when one breaks social tapu concerning kin and rank. Any lapse in
the social graces is viewed most seriously. The people of Nuku'alofa, 571
to adapt Frank's analogy, operate within a chain of constellations and
satellites based on kin and rank and within this chain social and 182
economic functions are barely separable. The people are more money
conscious than they were, they are subjected to the influences of [178]
tourism and the pressures of population growth, but to date there are
few signs that these changes have caused a corresponding change in
attitudes towards kin, an essential concept of peasant and traditional
societies.

With empirical studies of Pacific towns still in their infancy, 121
there seems little point in fixing a label to the features we have 369
described in Nuku'alofa. A too ready use of such terms as "agro
town", "pseudo-urbanisation" or "subsistence urbanisation" will not
help to untangle the webs of society. Certain sectors of the town
are predominantly peasant; others are at least partly proletarian or
bourgeois, and the two sectors are inextricably interwoven. Clearly
peasant systems and peasant attitudes are not purely a rural
phenomenon. They can exist among migrants to towns, in the bazaar
and tertiary sectors and the traditional attitudes which stem from rural
socio-economic roots can be found at all levels of town society. In
the long run the social and cultural attitudes of classes within a
society usually reflect their economic interests. What is not clear [565]
in Nuku'alofa is whether classes, in the usual sense of the word, yet
exist. In the short run Tonga and other underdeveloped countries are 178
"all at different stages of development, or underdevelopment, as a
result of their varying historical experiences of capitalism, their 171
indigenous socio-economic structures, and the interaction of the one 121
on the other."[28] There is nothing inevitable about the end result.
The theoretical model of transition from peasant to proletariat is not 121
predictive and for Nuku'alofa radical changes seem a long way off.
At present there is considerable evidence that the so-called rural 369
element is increasing. Labour is not becoming more specialised, the

602 554 (114) by behavior or not.

602 554 183 431 437 Below I have listed the kinship dyads and described the ideal behavior for each dyad as it exists in the conscious model. The kin terms are defined and discussed in Chapter III.

Fa'e-Tama: A woman should treat those she refers to as tama in a protective and loving manner; she should look after their physical and emotional needs with only tama's well-being in mind. In return tama should behave in a loving and respectful manner toward fa'e. Women should not punish tama with more than mild physical abuse. Fa'e is of lower rank than tama and the flow of goods should be from fa'e to tama.

Fa'e Tangata-'Ilamutu: 'Ilamutu has an almost unrestrained access to the goods and services controlled by fa'e tangata, and may act in a demeaning and overbearing manner toward him. Fa'e tangata should submit to the demands of 'ilamutu. Fa'e tangata is of lower rank than 'ilamutu and the flow of goods and services should be from fa'e tangata to 'ilamutu.

Tamai-Foha: Tamai is responsible for the moral welfare and direction of foha; toward that end he demands respect and obedience of foha. This relationship is marked by several prohibitions which indicate a [784] discouragement of familiarity between the principals. Foha cannot wear the clothing of tamai, cannot use his personal possessions, must not eat from the same serving of food, nor sleep on tamai's bed. Foha should not stand to speak to a tamai who is sitting, and should not interrupt tamai while he is speaking to others. The flow of goods and services should be from foha to tamai.

602 _Tuofefine-Tuonga'ane_: _Tuonga'ane_ must show respect toward his
554 183 _tuofefine_ and several prohibitions exist in this avoidance relationship.
431 437 _Tuonga'ane_ cannot sleep in the same house as their _tuofefine_, they can-
[784] not speak of sexulaly-related matters, and _tuonga'ane_ and _tuofefine_
should not walk or talk alone together. Physical affection should not
[593] be present in this relationship. Boys and men are responsible for the
welfare of the sisters and should willingly assist them with labor and
goods. So the flow of goods, then, is from _tuonga'ane_ to _tuofefine_.

Kui-Mokopuna: This should be a relationship of mutual understanding and affection. There are no special restrictions or avoidances, and no direction of reciprocity is specified.

602 This scheme of reciprocity as set forth in the conscious model is
554 in one sense not reciprocity at all. That is, if only the flow of goods
431 437 and services between individuals is considered, the flow is very much
in a one-way direction. However, if the entire kindred of each ego is
considered, a balance emerges where at least in theory ego would have
as many persons to receive from as to give to. In the conscious model
of kin reciprocity, then, ego is the center of an activity system in
which decisions concerning the flow of goods and services are ideally
made according to ego's kinship rank relative to other individuals within
128 the system. Now I will present the patterns of behavior actually present
within that system by using the data recorded in observing the exchanges
of goods and in the exchanges of children.

127 797 In 1859 Thomas wrote in his journal of a conversation he had with an eighteen year old Tongan youth. Thomas, who had spent almost thirty years in the archipelago, was telling the Tongan about the past of Tonga:

[782] [775] [776]

> and that it was wrong for men to set up intercessors of their own. That it was one of the great errors of Tongan worship that they prayed to departed spirits--chiefs & relatives &c to pray for them & the superior gods (Thomas, Journal, October 23, 1859).

127 784 In an earlier journal entry for 1839, Thomas provided a description of the '*otua* as a totem. He wrote of a Tongan named Simon Mafi:

753 [776]

> Just come from the Haabais, hearing that his father was ill, and near death at the Bea. He went to see him, Mafi talked to his father about the true God &c, but the old man ordered him to desist, telling him he was ill, through his having eaten his god. Mafi had eaten the fish called Feke, which had been their family god, and his father charged him with the sin of it (Thomas, Journal, August 2, 1834).

127 Supporting, yet perhaps inconsistent for the ethnohistorical researcher, material can also be found in Thomas' letter-journal entry for the same day. In his letter-journal entry Thomas wrote of the father:

[753] [784] [776]

> telling him that his illness was in consequence of his (Simon's) bad conduct to their family god. The fish called Feke was formerly worshipped by this Tribe... (Thomas, Letter-Journal entry of August 2, 1834).

The inconsistency stems from the fact that in both descriptions, Thomas refers to "family" but in one description he mentions "tribe." Before any ethnohistorical researcher can make a broader statement of ethnohistorical fact combining '*otua* with "family" or "tribe" in aboriginal Tonga, these two latter terms have to be checked and cross-checked for their consistency based on 19th Century observations.

643 supreme sanctity and giving his dynasty pre-eminence. Referring
to the Tu'i Tonga, Williamson (1924, I:151) quoted Monfat,
who used the records of the early Roman Catholic missionaries in
Tonga, as saying:

> In them the civil and political power is exalted and sanctified by the divine power; wherefore their authority is boundless. They dispose of the goods, the bodies, and the consciences of their subjects, without ceremony and without rendering account to anyone. *Tuitonga* appears, and all prostrate themselves and kiss his feet . . . The Tongans refuse him nothing, exceeding his desires. If he wishes to satisfy his anger or some cruel fancy, he sends a messenger to his victim who, far from fleeing, goes to meet death. You will see fathers tie the rope round the necks of their children, whose death is demanded to prolong the life of this divinity; more than once you will see the child smile as it is being killed.

[342] Cook (1809, V:428) reported that if the Tu'i Tonga entered
a house belonging to a subject it became *tapu* and could never
● [784] be inhabited by its owners, so there were houses specially built
for his reception when travelling. There was even a special
[195] 'language' to be used by those of lesser rank when they addressed
or talked about the Tu'i Tonga, and similarly a language of respect
was used in addressing or talking about other chiefs.

643 The Tu'i Tonga was both the temporal and spiritual ruler, at
least until the fifteenth century. While Tonga was occupied by a
173 fairly small population, the combining of spiritual and temporal
authority in the office of Tu'i Tonga appears to have worked adequately for a time. However, a succession of murders of the Tu'i Tonga during the fifteenth century led the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua Fekai, to create the new office of *hau*[1] (temporal ruler) to take over secular responsibilities while the Tu'i Tonga became *'eiki Toputapu* (sacred ruler). The new position of *hau* was given to one of Kau'ulufonua Fekai's brothers, Mo'ungamotu'a, who founded a dynasty under the title, Tu'i Ha'ataka-

[197] [1] The term *hau* is related to the Fijian terms *sau* meaning 'prosperity, high chief, king', and *sauturaga* or 'noble king'; Capell and Lester (1946:299) conclude that the title *sau* (or *hau*) 'is shared between Fiji, Rotuma, Samoa and Tonga, with possibly an earlier stratum in Tahiti and Hawaii'. The date 1470 for the first *hau* dynasty is cited by Gifford (1929:83), Collocott (1924:179) and Wood (1932:11).

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 sentative of Hikule'o, the god of harvest, an annual festival of
423 *'inasi* (offering of the first fruits to him) was held.[3] It was believed
651 that failure to carry out the *'inasi* would result in calamity and the
whole land would suffer from divine wrath.

[776] The land was gradually divided among the principal chiefs
[784] as the population increased with the years and, in practice, they
became the effective controllers of their respective land. Once a
423 *tofi'a* (hereditary estate) had been allocated to a chief, it remained
565 associated with his title and neither the Tu'i Tonga nor the *hau*
643 ever revoked it (Waldegrave 1834:185), though they could
depose its existing title holder and choose another. The chiefs
[651] further acknowledged their indebtedness to the Tu'i Tonga for
their land by paying him tributes and by performing the traditional
fatongia[4] *(corvée)*.

659 Politics was closely interwoven with religion in Tonga. Every
chiefly person possesed some degree of *mana* or supernatural
565 power. However, the amount of *mana* a chief received was also
778 thought to depend on the good will of the gods. Chiefs made
offerings to obtain the favour of the gods and consulted them on
565 important occasions, particularly before going to war or embarking
[782] on distant voyages. When any misfortune or natural disaster
[787] occurred it was attributed to the anger of the gods. Since the
[784] chiefs, who were the political leaders, relied upon priests as their
mediators with the gods, a close alliance existed between them and
793 the religious leaders in order to maintain their mutual interests.
565 The powers of the priests were second only to those of the chiefs.

The Tongans were polytheistic and possessed a hierarchy of gods.
776 Among the principal gods were the *kau* Tangaloa,[5] who lived in
the sky, the *kau* Maui, who lived in the underworld, and the deity
Hikule'o, who held Pulotu, or the Tongan paradise (Collocott
1921:152-3; Farmer 1855:133; Thomson 1894:23).

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[3] Because *'Inasi* was a religious festival, it was different from the ordinary offering of first fruits to the chiefs which was called *polopolo* (Gifford 1929:103; Martin 1827, I:201; Williamson 1924, III:347-8).

[4] Vason stated, 'It was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send men, two or three times a week, to "Fadongyeer", i.e. to dig plant and labour for Dugonagaboola' (Orange 1840:139).

[5] *kau* is a plural sign. It comes before nouns denoting persons.

782 deities in Pulotu. *Kau'inima* (the cutting off of fingers as a
[793] sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods
in order to save the life of a chief. In April 1842 the Reverend
[787] John Thomas wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee in London:

> 782 January 10th, 1842, died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was
> 304 of many weeks continuance . . . At length it was feared that he
> 755 would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to no purpose. On the 7th of January, a youth named Feheko, a Chief's son, about twelve years of age, was offered in sacrifice to the gods. His own father and another man strangled him; but all was in vain.
> (*W-M Mag.* 1843:258)

784 So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were
731 attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of dead relatives.

753 Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial
761 places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of
778 their prestige and importance the priests received food and other
[793] gifts from the people (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1843). The sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were being pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufa'itahi, whose priest was Kautai at Mu'a (Gifford 1929:300; Blacket 1914:121-3). The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded in his diary (9 Dec. 1822) how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he (Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wantonness of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being
[688] killed at once'. In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a crime that a human life would have to be offered in atonement. (Martin 1827, I:190).

775 Pulotu was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu where anything mortal could not survive. The chiefs considered
[565] that the commoners had no place there. Hence commoners were

often called *kainangaefonua* (eaters of the soil) because it was 775
believed by the chiefs and by most commoners that they turned
into vermin after they died, though some commoners doubted this 565
belief (Martin 1827. II:122-4).

There was no moral condition of any kind for the entry of
souls to Pulotu. The sole condition appeared to be chiefly birth.
Failure to comply with the laws of the community was punished 681
during one's lifetime either by the chiefs who had absolute power 565
over their subjects or, it was believed, by the gods and spirits of 693
deceased relatives who could inflict disease or misfortunes upon 784
transgressors.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Tonga was
politically stable. Abel Tasman, who visited the group in 1643, 175
observed that the people of Tongatapu, the main island, carried no
weapons, the country was peaceful, and the land was well cultivated (Kenihan 1964:50).

This stability was due to the reciprocal relations and balance of 565
interests existing between the various classes of Tongan society.
At the top of the social pyramid were the *ha'a tu'i* ('kings'). Immediately below this stratum was that of the *hou'eiki* (chiefs), then the *kau mu'a* (sons of a union between a chief and a *matāpule*), the *ha'a*[7] *matāpule* (chiefs' attendants), and *kau tu'a* (commoners) in that descending order. At the bottom of the scale were the *kau pōpula* (slaves) (Gifford 1929:111). The protection and jurisdiction offered by the chiefs ensured for the commoners security for both their lives and their property. It created and maintained peace and order, which ultimately resulted in prosperity and contentment. Partly from a deep sense of obligation, besides personal loyalty, gratitude and affection, the commoners were only too eager to carry out their responsibilities towards their chiefs. These included working for the chiefs, giving them the first fruits of their crops and the best of everything they possessed,
and fighting for them when the chiefs decided to go to war. In 693
addition, the absolute and arbitrary power of the chiefs, who 681
usually dealt out rather severe punishments, together with fear of 784
divine retribution for violations of the taboos, served as a deterrent

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[7] The word *ha'a* in this context means class.

565 which helped to maintain stability, peace and prosperity in the
[693] land.

With the expansion of population the local chiefs gradually
[681] consolidated their power over their own areas, and the authority
[784] of both Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Kanokupolu became nominal
and ceremonial. Actual power rested with the chief of various
565 localities or *kāinga* (the equivalent of the modern village in
631 Tonga).[8] Unlike the Samoan village where authority was vested
643 in the village *fono,* at which the *matais* (titled heads of the
families) discussed matters affecting the village before they were
565 implemented, the powers of the village chief in Tonga were absolute
622 and arbitrary. The Tongan *fono* was simply a compulsory assembly
[621] of the people to receive instructions from the chief. Offenders
were not brought to public trial as was the case in Samoa. Any
565 major offences were dealt with by the chief whose decisions were
622 absolute, punishment frequently being meted out on the spot, either
627 by the chief himself or by one of his powerful henchmen. This
absolute power of the ruling chiefs, however, contained the seeds
[695] of the system's own destruction. As chiefly ambitions grew they
565 fostered local autonomy, thus threatening the political unity of
622 Tonga as a whole.

True, the country, during this period was economically pros-
631 perous, and life was easy and peaceful. Yet, at the same time,
175 the vigorous and ambitious young warrior chiefs did not find enough excitement in such a life. The immense variety of newly found riches, and the stimulation which contact with the outside world brought to the Tongans, especially during the eighteenth century, whetted the appetites of the young chiefs for further power, wealth and excitement. It was when they began to misuse their power for purely selfish ends that corruption crept in followed by serious disturbances. There ensued a period of political turbulence and misery after the relatively peaceful, orderly, and prosperous years of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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[592] [8] Apart from the *'api* (household) there were three main socio-political
[596] units in Tonga. The smallest was the *fa'ahinga* (extended family), headed
by an *'ulumotu'a* who was either a chief, petty chief or *matāpule* (chief's
[621] attendant). Next was the *kāinga,* headed by a ruling titled chief. The
[613] largest unit was the *ha'a,* a loose confederation of genealogically related,
but autonomous, chiefs and their *kāinga.*

mission centres because it was more convenient to live close to 797
the schools. Still others were attracted by the medical services
which the missionaries provided. The missionaries claimed that 166
one of the places thus created was Nuku'alofa, the present capital
of Tonga, and were very proud of it. Amos wrote of its develop- 797
ment: 368

> The modern town of Nukualofa is purely a creation of Christianity; and . . . its present population has been gathered by the gospel alone . . . Nukualofa was ever an obscure village, with a small population of less than one hundred persons, (except when fortified in time of war as a place of refuge for other villages,) until the *lotu* collected from all parts of the island a population peculiarly its own, which now amounts to upwards of one thousand two hundred; and the reigning Tuikanokubolu has constituted it the metropolis of his ocean empire. Thus Christian Missions are founding cities, each of which, we hope, will become 'an eternal excellency, the joy of many generations'. (*W-M Mag.*, 1854:870)

Some new centres were established as a result of the persecution 361
of Christian converts who were driven from their own villages.
Some of these joined Christian villages or towns, but others 798
started new settlements. The village of Fatai in Tongatapu was established by a man who had been driven out of Houma on account of his conversion. This redistribution of population in Tonga was a spontaneous response of the people to the new demands and challenges which confronted them, in marked contrast to what happened in Tahiti, for example, where the L.M.S. missionaries deliberately tried to move the people from their traditional habitats into new villages where mission activities were centred.

In the Christian towns and villages in Tonga the missionaries 797
were able to exert considerable influence upon the growing
Christian population, and as things began to settle, a new set of 771
superstitious beliefs began to gather round Christianity itself.
Natural disasters, sickness and misfortunes were now attributed by [784]
many to the anger of Jehovah, and prosperity and good health to
His good will. As the missionaries were viewed as men of God, [778]
their property was regarded as sacred. The mission property and
the Bible in particular were held in utmost reverence. The old

/68 cont./

592 Despite the dark side which Tongan marriage has for the strict
181 Western observer, the family life of these natives may be regarded
as happy, particularly since basic ideas are freer and the Tongans
with their mentality take things easier than they appear to whites.
592 As in old times, (198)
462 198. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300.
the husband bears the chief burden of work (planting, fishing,
house and boat building), while the wife cares for the house and
the children, plaits mats and makes tapa. (199)

199. More details at "Division of Labor,"
p. 336 ff.

593 As ever, the wife enjoys special respect. In most houses a quiet,
harmonious atmosphere predominates, both between the spouses as well
as between parents and children. Often one sees fathers holding their
children lovingly on their laps, and mothers take conscientious, often
tender care of their children for granted. This family life
[178] corresponds very much to that in old Tonga, according to the description given by Mariner. (200)

200. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 179.

593 Many parents do not beat their children, but are content with
861 admonishing words. Some, however, give severe punishment with the
Tonga broom (tau fale) /used/ as a switch (or with a stick, leather
strap, etc.). /69/ Child obedience is moderate to good. In general,
[867] however, children are handy, and when still of young age they perform
tasks helping their parents and growing into the parents' roles.

593 An ancient taboo forbade children to touch their father's head,
784 to partake of his food and drink and to use articles belonging to him.
(178) This taboo is today largely relaxed, for children will, for example,
often eat food remnants of their father or drink up what is left in
his coconut cup. Many use their father's comb, and some even touch

/69 cont./

593
784 his head in the mirror, without being actually stopped by their
parents.

593 The brother-sister taboo has remained stronger among all classes,
784 although it too has been eased. Brother and sister may not, for
178 example, sleep in the same house if they are more than nine or
[513] twelve years old. This taboo is still commonly observed in Tongan-style houses, and another small house is built for the sons, while
the daughters may sleep in the house of the parents. In the
[177] European-style wooden houses one may occasionally observe this custom
[513] being relaxed, with the siblings sleeping in different rooms (with
closed doors) of the same house. According to the ancient taboo, the
brother was not permitted to come to the house of the sister, nor
the latter to the brother's house. This prohibition has been relaxed;
[516] for the siblings may go enter each other's dwelling by example, the
sister wishes to enter the room in which her brother is sitting,
near the entrance, she enters through another entrance, and her
brother does not remain lying down or casually sitting, but gets
up, straightens out his vala, and then sits down with properly
crossed legs. The taboo against brother and sister eating together
[264] has been relaxed to the extent that the siblings may partake of a
meal in the same place and at the same time, but they must not sit
next to, or near, each other. Whereas in old times, brother and
[521] sister were not permitted to converse, and necessary question always
had to be asked from outside through the hut's wall and answered
from inside, today they speak together freely, but by no means
about off-color subjects, and they conscientiously avoid all "bad
words." According to the old brother-sister taboo, they were also
not permitted to go for a walk together. Nowadays, this sometimes
occurs.

This noticeable weakening of both the child-father taboo and the

/69 cont./
593 brother-sister taboo, seem to have occurred only during the past
784 decades, for the stricter rules are still clear in the memory of
178 all older people. The child-father taboo has been extensively
relaxed because the belief /70/ in the power of this taboo (sickness or death as punishment for non-observance) is to a considerable
extent lost on the "enlightened" present generation. A certain
[562] observance of the brother-sister taboo may be explained as an
exaggerated natural sexual avoidance among siblings, as well as
the brother's social recognition of the ordinarily higher rank of
his sister; for the restrictions mentioned are observed for reasons
of "good upbringing" and not because of fear of the punishing power
of a taboo.

593 Although the woman in Tonga society enjoys a highly respected
562 social position, the man in the family has full authority, even if
(178) his wife originally comes from a higher social rank than he. This
state of affairs is the same as in ancient Tonga. (201)

201. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 98, 179.

592 When the head of the family dies, the eldest son becomes the head
428 of the family. If he proves unqualified, the next older brother
(178) takes his place. This arrangement very probably existed even in
ancient Tonga.

842 Today, as in pre-European times, these natives are not familiar
with birth control. Suggestions to the government by white
officials for birth control fell on deaf ears. No one among the
people seems to be interested in birth prevention. Children cause
relatively little expense, for more eaters at daily meals will soon
mean more helpers for work. Only a few members of the government
foresee the threat of overpopulation of the islands in 30 or 50 years.

887 Old people living with younger married couples or independently

/85 cont./

763 a relief for his family, since one may not smoke, for example, in a
[343] house where there is a dead person, and children may not enter such
[565] a house. In most cases, however, at least among commoners, death
takes place in the family dwelling. The dying one, insofar as his
condition will permit, speaks to his family who are assembled at his
bedside. Until the end, they try, with medicines, to keep life from
764 going out. When he has expired, his wife washes his body with water
and European soap. A deceased wife is washed by her daughter. The
(784) child-father taboo is thus observed even in death. The deceased is
(593) then dressed by his wife in a new white shirt and a white textile vala
(a deceased woman by her daughter in correspondingly good women's
clothes). The body is covered from feet to chin with a white or light
blue satin sheet and over this (or around the body) are laid three (or
more) of the finest mats (kie Tonga or fine Samoa mats) which cover
the corpse completely from the neck down (feta'u=death clothes).

In the center of the house the corpse is then laid on mats (for
example, fala paongo, fala tofua) which are covered with tapa
(ngatu tahina). Often, perfume of eau de cologne is fetched from a
shop and is sprinkled on the deceased; his hair is rubbed with Tongan
oil (lolo Tonga) and is combed. The face of the corpse is covered with
(784) a hankerchief. The person who ministers to the dead man (or woman)
is thereafter subject to no taboo (for instance, food taboo).

The relatives of the deceased and of the surviving spouse arrive.
They kiss the deceased in Tongan fashion ('uma)^ and take a seat in the
house. The widow sits near the head of the deceased around whom the
sons, the daughters and the rest of the kinfolk gather. They pray,
(354) weep and give themselves up to their grief. Gasoline /86/ lamps (some
(177) ten) lent by the villagers are placed around the corpse; they are a
(565) substitute for the traditional lamps or torches, (242)

242. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 200.

^ [i.e., the nose kiss. See footnote 218 on p. 109--Analyst]

764 /86 cont./
[354] and a deceased commoner is now probably given more lamps then was
[177] formerly customary and that was permissible, compared with chiefs. It
[565] is forbidden to smoke in the house or to drink kava or eat food. The
[784] village chief, the matapule and other villagers drink kava and eat in
[276] [622] a neighboring house; they talk about the deceased and his good deeds.

[565] If the deceased was a member of the Wesleyan church (like most
[794] Tongans), the choir of the village church come and (usually standing
[533] in an adjoining room of the death house) sing hymns until daybreak.
This is perhaps a substitute for the old individual mourning songs. (243)

243. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 198.

A few relatives have meanwhile gone into the bush in order to gather sticks (for example, of siale mohe mohe) which they lash with bast from the fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) to make the traditional latticed bier (fata). A kinsman has arranged with the pastor the time of burial; the date was, for example, proposed by the widow and the rest of the relatives agree. (244)

244. Many burials take place early in the morning; but afternoon is also a preferred time.

The time of burial has arrived. The satin, the handkerchief and the mats are removed from the deceased, the tapa on which he is lying is folded around him and tied with another piece of tapa. The bier is covered with mats (papa and fala paongo) and tapa (ngatu tahina or ngatu'uli). The deceased is laid on this; the satin sheet and handkerchief are again placed over him and everything is shrouded with one (or two) valuable mat(s) and a large piece of tapa (ngatu'uli).
[202] Then the church bells are rung and ten or 20 younger relatives (not the sons) carry the bier to the graveyard. (245)

[184] 245. In Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) where the graveyard is more distant and the technical facilities are more progressive, the corpse is driven to the grave on a truck.

/88 cont./

764 to the gathering, thanks them for coming and suggest that they now go
765 to the house of the deceased. There they drink kava (women and girls
574 may also take part in this gathering) and wait for the contents of
[276] the large earth oven being prepared by the family of the deceased.
[562] These contents (for example, a pig, yams, kape, taro, manioc, etc.)
are divided up in baskets (of plaited palm leaves), one of which each
guest receives. In a town like Fungamisi/Vava'u, the earth oven is
sometimes already replaced by several hundred loaves of white bread
which are bought in a bakery. A very well-to-do Tongan may entertain
the mourners for ten days with food and lodging. But usually, after
the baskets have been distributed and the last kava has been drunk,
the guests return home, possibly after the "eldest" has thanked
them again for their sympathy.

765 Only close relatives (on both sides) usually remain for ten
(602) days in the house of the deceased, (256)

256. Some of them sleep in the houses of neighbors; special huts for the mourners are no longer built.

765 whose family look after them. There is a complete noise ban in the
784 village (for example, no one may beat tapa, call loudly, sing [except
in church] and dance) for a few days, and /89/ work (especially
cooperative work) is at a temporary standstill. According to the old
765 custom, the noise ban for commoners probably lasted ten days and for
784 chiefs correspondingly longer, depending on their rank. Nowadays,
178 however, among commoners, the taboo is usually officially lifted for
(565) relatives after three days (or even on the evening of the day of
burial), following a meal with singing and dancing, and, for example,
in the rapidly growing village of Pangai (on Lifuka), a traffic and
government center of the Ha'apai group, such a taboo is often observed
only in the vicinity of the house of the deceased. (257)

765 /89 cont./

784 257. Only the beating of tapa is generally
178 not resumed for a few days or weeks.

[554) For a high-ranking deceased, however, a longer noise ban (of ten days or more) is still observed.

765 On the morning after the funeral the women (that is, the female
[531) relatives of the deceased and possibly neighbors) fetch basketsful of sand from the beach and make a grave mound which they soon decorate with black pebbles (if available), small red and white coral stones and ki-kie Jou fau (and sisi kakala) (see above). On this day, people also
765 frequently observe the old "pongi-pongi" which formerly went on for ten
574 days: (258)
276

258. According to statements of aged Tongan. notables (chiefs, matapule) of the village and other people come, kava is drunk in ceremonial order, and the relatives of the deceased distribute the contents of an earth oven which they have prepared.

765 After the funeral, the wife of the deceased, her daughters and sons (also accompanied by a few relatives) go every day to the grave to weed and keep the mound in order. Often a few villagers will gather for several days with the relatives for a kava circle, and the close relatives of the deceased continue wearing, every day (sometimes also at night) for some three months (or a year), the torn mat (tauanga'a, liongi, motumotu) which they put on for the burial ceremonies, (fastened with bast or a European cord), as a visible sign of mourning.
[177) The European custom of a black arm band has found limited acceptance.

After a few years the majority of the people scarcely pay any attention to the graves; this attitude is reminiscent of that of commoners in times past. (259)

259. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 201.

[178) This burial procedure is usually the rule. However, there are
[565) certain deviations, since it is left to the relatives, at any rate
[574)
[784)

/89 cont./

765 among commoners, whether or not they will link the festival with the
565 burial of their dead (they may not, for example, because of poverty
574 or because the one who was buried was not a close relative). Thus
784 it may happen that the eldest of the family, after /90/ the pit has been covered over, will briefly announce that there will be no kava-drinking or earth-oven meal and no noise or work taboo (260)

(114) 260. On January 5, 1952, on Nomuka, the author experienced the burial of a woman who had been isolated because of a serious case of tuberculosis and who subsequently died; in accordance with the wish of her relatives, no festivity and no work stoppage were observed. Again, after the death of an old man on February 2, 1952, on the same island, the work- and noise- taboo were dispensed with.

It is possible that here we find indications of a beginning decline in ancient customs.

764 Thus, in the sphere of death and burial we must also recognize
765 that the Tongan have by no means been immune to European influences,
177 some of which they adopted and combined with their old traditions, so
178 that here we experience a fusion of ancient Tongan with European /tradition/, which, as a cultural function, entirely satisfies the needs of the community in the crisis of death, and in which everything is felt to be natural, not foreign, especially since the present older generation was born into the change, which had in essence already taken
(565) place. Here too, as in the case of the wedding, (261)

261. Compare pp. 116-119.

the liberation of commoners contributed to the preservation and vitalization of ancient tradition by making more elaborate use, as far as possible, of mats and tapa, and by decorating the graves, often like those of chiefs. (262)

262. For example, black pebbles were formerly

/105 cont./

565 of honor. And the ceremony of kava-serving still singles him out as
554 the most important person in the circle. even when important officials
178 or men (from among commoners) who are influential as a result of their
276 personality or their wealth are among the present The mere fact
574 that a man in the village has some chief's blood in his veins or that
he bears a title which was once granted him or his ancestors and
causes him to be regarded as matapule, (294)

> 294. On Nomuka, for example, in all kava circles of commoners (among whom there are a few officials and respected Tongans), the Tei is given the seat of honor without reservation. The old title of Tei was at one time created by the Tu'i Tonga, and its bearer had to take care of fishing for 'ava (fish) and transporting the ruler. The title continued to be renewed, so that today the Tei is commonly regarded as "fisherman to the Queen."

gives him priority in the kava circle over knowledge, ability and wealth.

565 Though the respect of commoners for landless chiefs has been
576 considerably reduced in public, it has not entirely disappeared. For
554 almost every commoner, when he visits a chief, will don his ta'o-vala
178 (the mat as a sign of respect), and among the people no one generally
dares to wear the finest mats (for example, kie ta'o-vala)to which
formerly only chiefs were entitled, except for church-going or
weddings, even though the constitutions permit such attire. In
565 case of death, too, a longer noise- and work-taboo is usually observed
178 for chiefs than for commoners. The majority of the people still have
764 a silent respect respect for rank and title. (295)

784 295. Outwardly the difference between nobles and commoners has been completely effaced, for all classes today wear the same European clothing.

(291)
(177)

/122 cont./

423 certain restriction on the properties of chiefs and above all on their
565 power; every commoner feels free, and no one is anxious about his
land, since the chiefs can no longer arbitrarily exert their power
over the people. Nevertheless, since the Crown has ultimate right
[182] to all land and gives out part of it to the nopele as feudal tenure
[425] and to commoners as leased property, the basis of the old system seems
[427] to have been upheld. Present-day land distribution can insure a
423 permanent settlement of the land and bodes well for the Tongans, to
425 remain by and large a farming people, even though the system, which
is good in theory, shows certain weaknesses in practice. With the
[432] legal prohibition to sell land, the present method of land distribution
[671] also gives the natives an invaluable protection against the land-aquiring interests of Europeans.

c)Administration of Justice.

69 A very considerable change took place in Tonga in the field of
178 justice administration.

In ancient Tonga there was no government regulated jurisdiction.
Judges, police, and prisons were unknown. A few offenses against
● [784] taboo rules were not punished by the hand of man, for people believed
in punishment by supernatural forces. The various "cases" which came
692 up as a result of other offenses of Tongan customs and habits
565
681 (especially in the existing noble-commoner relationship) were taken
care of by the chiefs as they saw fit. In general, punishment was
681 meted out as soon as possible after the deed. The chief punishments
were: beating (for example, with the palm of the hand on the naked back, with the fist on the head and face), tying (arms and legs for days), and execution (for example, striking with a club or drowning
[565] in the sea with a leaking boat). Influential chiefs seem at times
[692] to have acted as arbiters. (337)

/181 cont./

000 the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

226 463 Like net-making, fishing itself was a hereditary profession, according to Mariner. (472)

472. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

Even though not every Tongan, by any means, knows how to fish anymore, the number of natives who master at least one of the methods is very large; most of them fish only in addition to their main work of farming, and there are very few who devote themselves daily and almost exclusively to fishing. The Tongan calls the fishing experts toutai; but he means by this not so much a "profession" in our sense, but rather a man who knows the sea and is experienced in fishing. It is not to be assumed that this was essentially different in ancient Tongan times. (473)

[784] 473. Gifford, however, speaks of "professional fishermen" /cited in English/ and says, for example: "An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps to the toutai ika (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed." /cited in English/ (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 147). If there were indeed "professional fishermen" in ancient Tonga, they could only have acted as attendants of chiefs /182/ and have served them. Aside from that, most methods of fishing were probably employed by anyone who mastered them, as is also implied by Gifford's words: "Every 'commoner' who lived on a tract bordered by water could fish along his waterfront." /cited in English/ (Ibid. p. 177.)

226 361 178 /182/ While, in ancient Tonga, apparently those who had their property along the shore had the right to fish, (474)

474. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 177.

today the Tongans within the realm of their islands, engage in fishing wherever they expect to be successful, and pay no attention to the

292 /216 cont./
237 natural state, are today occasionally dyed with European dyes (for
177 example, crimson) for ornamental arrangements.
386

kie-kie lopa:

292 The kie-kie lopa is worn by women and girls (more seldom by men)
[535] as a ta'o-vala; they also like to wear it at dances (laka-laka,
[353] tau'olunga, kailao, hula, ula, ma'ulu'ulu) and often use it to decorate
their dwellings. This may be an ancient cultural heritage. It is
[462] made by women and girls and consists of a plaited cord of bast
(283) (Hibiscus tiliaceus) on which bast fibers are knotted; upon these they
[824] string red lopa seeds (Adenanthera pavonina?). Today the bast fibers
(386) of the kie-kie lopa are also sometimes dyed with European dyes.
(177)

Perhaps the principle of these ornamental belts is an ancient
Tongan cultural heritage. With much love and zeal they are individually
(283) knotted today by women and girls. European dyes are an essential
(386) feature of all of them except mana fau.
(177)

287 The bast cloth (tapa) (567)
177
(196)

567. Tapa is actually an incorrect designation, though long since established even for the dyed and figured bark cloth (more correctly: bast cloth); in the Tongan language only the non-dyed edge of the bast cloth is called tapa, whereas the dyed (figured) bast cloth is called ngatu.

is still made in the Tonga Archipelago on a large scale, even though the process is very tedious and in part /217/ entails hard work, and European textiles are relatively easily obtainable for the inhabitants of all the islands.

287 As clothing, however, tapa is used only on certain special
292 occasions; (568)
784

568. See p. 66 ff.

178 since the old belief in taboos has been lost, strips of bast cloth are

287 /217 cont./
292 also no longer used as a sign of taboo. (569)

[784 178] 569. Still mentioned, for example, in Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 233.

[513] But at any rate the Tongans use tapa today, as in the past, largely as
a sleeping pad (on the mats) and also especially as bed covers. At
festive and solemn occasions, especially at a wedding and a burial,
[752] bast cloth plays an important role, rooted in tradition. For dances
the natives still like to wear tapa clothing; and finally, as in old
times, strips of white bast cloth are used as bandages for wounds.
287 Apparently recent is the widespread use of tapa as a curtain inside
353 the dwelling where it partitions off parts of rooms, replacing the
178 movable interior walls (standing mats) formerly used for this purpose.

Today, in Tonga, tapa is made in the following way:

248 The paper mulberry tree (Broussonetia papyrifera) is planted specifically for making bast cloth. Men (sometimes also women) plant saplings on land that has been cleared of weeds (also in an old harvested yam field). While it is growing, the women remove the weeds that shoot up and break off the sprouting twigs from the saplings, so that the latter will grow quite tall. When the little paper mulberry trees (hiapo) have become tall enough, that is, after one or two years, the women (sometimes also the men) cut the small trunks with a machete or an axe.

287 They take the small trunks to the village and keep them in the house for three to six days so that the bark loses its stickiness. Then, with their teeth, the women notch the layer of bark at the lower end of the little tree about five centimeters lengthwise, and, with their hands, vigorously pull off the entire layer around the trunk in a single strip. On the inner side of this layer of bark is the bast needed for tapa-making. This they remove from the bark by separating it from the lower end with a machete (or a kitchen knife) and pulling

/246 cont./

775 787 relatives and also to other human beings. (655)

655. Ibid. pp. 105, 138.

775 776 The entire population, however, (that is, Tongans of all ranks) were subject to the power of the gods. The multitude of Tongan gods may be divided into "great gods," "the chiefs of the past who became deities," and demons. The former lived on earth as human beings, but were gods from the very beginning and had great power to do good and evil toward mankind. (656)

[771] 656. See also J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 103/104. Of the four great Polynesian gods Tu (Ku), Tane (Kane), Ro'o (Lono) and Ta'aroa (Kanaloa), the first three seem to have been unknown in Tonga (at any rate in 1800), while the last one is mentioned as Tangaloa (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 112 ff; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/ p. 289).

[787] [778] They made themselves known through priests, appeared in the shape of animals (lizards, dolphins, water snakes) and also entered into images or into simple things (such as stones).

[787] /247/ The chiefs of the past who became gods, like the great gods but to a lesser extent, were able to bring good and evil to human beings; often they appeared to warn, help and advise, (657)

657. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 104, 106.

and may therefore also be regarded as "tutelary gods," especially since the majority of them had only local, or even merely familial significance.

776 784 The demons or malignant kobolds, however, (according to Mariner) (658)

658. J. Martin, ibid., pp. 104, 119/120.

in conformity with their negative function, were always up to bad tricks and, out of pure mischief, inflicted on human beings the many little

/247 cont./

776 784 annoying ills and troubles of everyday life, quite in contrast to the high gods who caused great misfortune to come to human beings as punishment for their crimes.

784 [171] The Polynesian conception of taboo included prohibition, avoidance and abstention (659) was effective in religious, social and economic life. In ancient Tonga the "*tapu*" was the most important controlling power. One may distinguish between a "permanent *tapu*," which, for example, applied to sanctuaries, chiefs and those of higher rank in general, and a "temporary *tapu*," (660) which chiefs, and priests as well, could inflict (at the command of their respective gods) and could also revoke. (661) Willful violation of a taboo, according to Tongan belief, was punished by the gods with death, while unconscious violation could be revoked by elaborate ceremonies.

776 784 771 In Tonga there was a general belief that all life and well-being was absolutely dependent on the gods, and that sickness and misery were divine punishments for the neglect of religious duties or for other offences and crimes, especially since, in the view of these natives, everything was paid for on this earth and there were no punishments in the life beyond. (662)

771 [651] Aside from a few large and recurring acts of worship, (663)

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659. H. Nevermann, *loc*. *cit*. p. 73.

660. See J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 231 f.; E.W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*. p. 342.

661. For instance, in the case of field products because of a forthcoming festival or an anticipated period of shortage.

662. See J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 107.

663. For example, the *'inasi*, namely, the offering of first fruits to the Tu'itonga (see ibid. p. 207 ff.).

/247 cont./

771 p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no
systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the
[346] islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs.
[778] Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The
793 (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no
771 means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

[776] They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs
[787] asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front
of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them.
755 In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the
782 sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their
304 565 little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665)

771 665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454; II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

● [784] 666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff. If a specially serious crime was committed, the natives also tried to avert disaster threatened by the gods through a child sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

771 In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief
779 (667)

177 667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339. II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)

771 /249 cont./ The
784 old, so greatly feared power of the tapu is gone. In place of this
178 merely negative law of prohibition, of avoidance and abstention has
778 come the idea of sanctity; though this also includes prohibition, its
meaning is far more ethical then that of the tapu, for the sacred, the
lofty and the godly is not so much "that which is dangerous, "
771 but rather "that which is to be venerated." For the natives, the
783 principle of sin and atonement of all human beings was also new; this
776 meant /250/ a considerable change in the ancient Tongan idea of the
178 deity, since the gods were not ideal beings beyond good and evil, and
did not punish sins (in the Christian sense). The old belief in the
[753] absolute dependence of human beings on the gods who sent illness and
suffering as punishment for the neglect of religious duties and other
[784] transgressions, is today equivalent to the conviction that God is
almighty; suffering and sickness are regarded as blows of fate sent
by God, though not merely in the sense of punishment, but of trial
771 and purification. Whereas in the past there were few rites and no
796 formalized general veneration of the gods in Tonga, there are today
178 several churches on all the inhabited islands, and the natives take
part in the numerous church services conducted in accordance with
793 their denominational procedure. The Tongan clergymen who serve the
554 congregations are respected and influential in the community, in con-
178 trast to the rather unimportant ancient Tongan priests. The former
782 sacrifices of the harvest, of fingers and of children have not been
178 carried out for a long time, buy, in a sense, the very high
794 donations to churches by members of the congregations may replace
771 these. Today, as in the past, there is general devoutness, and only
178 occasionally one comes across outspoken disbelief.

These comparisons, despite their brevity, may give an insight
[177] into the change that came about in Tonga in the field of religion,

/250 cont./

771 insofar it is theoretically clear and comprehensible; for even though
178 today one can observe devotion to Christian faith, it probably
177 takes on, as everywhere in the world, countless forms in the minds
and attitudes of human beings, thus making generalizations difficult.
Yet it can be said that the Christian religion with its main doctrines
is today firmly rooted in Tonga. The natives, with their characteris-
[181] tic Polynesian emotionalism (which often increases to sentimentalism),
[152] give themselves wholeheartedly to this religion. They believe--or
think they believe; for if their old religion with its tremendous number of gods was scarcely comprehensible to the individual, the Christian religion with its often complicated and abstract doctrines is perhaps even more difficult for the Tongans to understand. One may probably say: this native is a devout Christian insofar as he understands the Christian religion. (670)

> 670. According to a Catholic missionary questioned in Tonga, some Tongans are able to grasp the core of Christian doctrines, but very many do not understand them entirely. "We must simply try to get as far as we possibly can..." he said.

And even here, a reservation is necessary: the Tongan today thinks and feels like a Christian, especially during the church services and in his prayers, while his practical /251/ actions (for example, with regard to the observance of rules pertaining to marriage) sometimes seem to be dictated by other motives. This discovery, however, is probably nothing unusal, since it is more or less true not only of Tonga, but of all countries in which Christians live.

771 The old religion has been forgotten, except for a few surviving
178 remnants that seem insignificant and are similar to European
775 superstitions. Above all, the fear of ghosts is a religious heritage
from the past. Many old people and even young ones avoid passing
[784] certain places (for example, cemeteries) in the dark. Even strong and

/251 cont./

771
775 intelligent men are convinced that spirits exist (671)

178 671. These are today known as *tevolo* (devils), as a result of mission work.

and are seized with cold fear, for example, while riding horseback at night in bushland. It sometimes happens that Tongans report
[787] ghastly experiences which they allegedly had with such spirits. Some
771 natives also believe, as they did in the past, (672)

178 672. See J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 236.

787
825 that the call of the *sikota* bird announces disaster and that it embodies the voice of a dead person. The *fata* is similarly regarded
[763] as a bird of death; if they hear it at night, the early death of a villager may be expected. The tapu that has degenerated to nothing
784 more than simple magic in the form of using taboo against theft on
789 field products and fruit trees by means of /attaching/ bunches of
685 foilage (673)

178

[753] 673. Leaves wrapped in raw tapa (*feta'aki*) with a strip of *feta'aki* hanging on it to mark it; the thief stealing fruit on which a taboo has been placed is supposed to be punished with certain illnesses (for example, ulcers, paralysis).

was still used up to a few decades ago; today the natives rely on their own vigilance, and in places where they suspect plantation thefts they station cooperative groups of watchmen. (674)

[753] 674. See also pp. 99-102 on taboo in present-day Tonga; some natives also still believe that it is not good to take food leftovers and cigarettes from a chief; ulcers on the chin area are supposed to be the consequence.

773 The beautiful old myths are mostly forgotten, except for those that
178 are today taught in the schools and that have kept the character of fairy tales that people like to listen to but that they do not believe to be true. When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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General Remarks.

Kava.—The use of the kava, from its intoxicating property 276
when taken in any quantity, is discountenanced by the missiona-
ries, but the custom seems to prevail nearly as much now as when
Cook visited the islands. It is the first thing prepared by a chief 276
when visited by his friends, and to neglect this would be considered 574
a want of courtesy amounting to insult, which would be highly 576
resented. At kava parties the ring is kept clear, no one who is
not employed in some duty connected with the ceremony being
allowed within it, and to walk across it would be considered as an
insult to the whole assembly. The kava is carried by inferior chiefs [554]
to those of higher rank, and the king would take it to the Tamahá [565]
or Tui Tonga Tagata. When they have drank the kava they throw
away the small cup in which it is served, and at neither of the 276
two great kava meetings we saw was the same cup used twice.
It is considered best when chewed by young women. In my strolls 249
round the island I saw several plantations of it; the young shoots 123
had just spread into leaf and were hoed, the ground between
them being carefully cleared of weeds.

Human Sacrifices.—The last human sacrifice was offered at Mua 782
about eight years ago, on the occasion of the death of Fátu, the
chief of the place, to propitiate the god who they thought had 766
punished them by thus depriving them of their chief. It was
a boy, about eleven years of age, who was strangled with a piece
of tappa passed round his neck, and then drawn tightly by two
men, one of whom was his own father!

Finger Sacrifices.—Many of the natives have lost their little 782
fingers. These were formerly cut off by the parents of the chil- 304
dren as offerings to the gods, to obtain success in war, or to propi-
tiate them in cases of sickness.

Disease in Children.—The children when first born, and for 164
some time after, are very healthy, but invariably about a certain age break out into sores which spread all over the body. I have observed the same thing at Cape York, and some of the islands of Torres Straits, where the natives call it Badálli, and attribute it to the influence of the Mydállaga, or men who deal in charms, or to the ill wish of some secret enemy.

The Tabu.—Whatever might have been the mysterious nature 784
and origin of the tabu, it simply means now something forbidden.
A tent being set up near the beach for the purpose of affording 784
shelter to the men who were sent ashore to burn lime, and to con-
tain their clothes, provisions, and cooking utensils, the natural 609
curiosity of the natives made them rather troublesome, which being
observed by an old chief, he called them all out and placed the

784 tent under tabu, but this restriction, although observed while he
609 was in sight, had evidently no great weight with them, for when
he was gone they came crowding in as before.

609 *Friendly Disposition of the Natives.*—The friendly disposition
of the Tonga Islanders is worthy of remark. Immediately
upon our arrival, nearly every one who went on shore had
609 his particular friend. I was adopted by a chief named Julius,
who exchanged names with me, and was very particular in making
123 me understand that I must apply to him for anything I might require,
and regularly came down to meet me when I landed, always
wishing that I should go and dine with him. They showed great
609 attention in this respect to all the officers who went on shore, taking
them to their houses when they came back from shooting, laying
out before them boiled fowls, yams, cocoa-nuts, and bananas,
and frequently, when a whole party had dined in this way at one
place, some other natives would come who had also prepared a
dinner for them, and be greatly disappointed upon finding that
they had been already entertained, trying to tempt them to eat
more by bringing what they had prepared and spreading it out
before them.

186 *King George's Flag.*—At the time of our visit the Tongaese had no distinguishing flag, the chiefs ornamenting their canoes with long streamers made with pieces of coloured cotton arranged according to fancy, and it was suggested to the king that he should have a national flag. Since this, he has been to the missionaries and requested that they would prepare one for him, which I hear they have done, and it is described as follows:—"It has occurred to us, that a fit emblem of the past history of Tonga might be a club and a bow and arrows, showing the warlike character of the people. For its present Christian state we select the emblem of a dove with an olive branch, and for the natural state of Tonga, and the bounty of Divine Providence, we fix upon the cocoa-nut tree, as affording so many and various articles for meat and drink and building and furniture."

439 *Proposed Trade between Tongatabu and New Zealand.*—There
has been some attempt to establish a trade in cocoa-nut oil between
these islands and New Zealand. It was proposed that King
439 George should collect sufficient cocoa-nut oil to freight a small
643 schooner, which was to be sent from New Zealand when the cargo
should be ready for it. The oil was then to be sold, and the vessel
purchased for the king with the proceeds. This plan does not
seem to have been met very warmly by the king, who, I believe,
once had a vessel of this description, but having lost her, he has
given up the idea of trading, saying that he is tired of trying to get
rich, remarking that if one of his large canoes is lost he can easily
get another from the Feejees; that he wants nothing among his

105: Vaea & Straatmans G,I-3 (no date) 1954
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The women then move on to the next one and so on until the fish find shelter under the coral in the basket. The basket is then quickly lifted to the surface, the corals thrown out, leaving the fish. 226

(f) *Ta 'atu.* This method of fishing is carried out only by the people of Ha'ano in the Ha'apai group. A school of fish known as *atu* visits Ha'ano's beaches several times a year. It seems strange that this species does not appear in any other island of the Kingdom. There is a legend which tells of some connection between the chief of the island "Tu'iha'angana" and the *'atu.* Even if it is only a myth, this primitive way of fishing still exists today. [773]

When the school is known to approach the island, the chief and all women and children must go inside their houses making no noise whatsoever, not leave their dwellings whilst the men lie in wait at the beach for the *'atu* to move closer to the shore. When the fish comes to rest near the beach, the men with their *hau* or hook in readiness, enter the water in single file at two points to form a semicircle, thus enclosing the school against the beach and herding them closer and closer.

The fishing now starts. Every man chops with his *hau* into the mass of fish. A fish, being hit and pierced by the *hau* is quickly pushed right through the hook and on to the connecting line where the catch is strung until the campaign is over. This goes on until the school is so disturbed that they either jump on to the dry sand or to break through the human blockade. At this stage, the fishermen not wanting to chase the *'atu* altogether from their beaches, gather their catch and go ashore, leaving the others to reorganise and enjoy the liberty of the beach without further disturbance until next time. The inhabitants of the island can now resume their normal duties but the beach is *tapu* for some days. [784]

2.—TRAP FISHING.

(a) ***Moka*** is a fish trap built of roots for catching a sort of herring, in Niuatoputapu called *otule.* [825]

(b) ***Fish Fence.*** A fence made of sticks and wire netting is put up in shallow water in such an angle that, when the tide is in, the incoming fish, when hitting the fence, are